

THE  
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,  
AND  
JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

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AND  
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NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

EDITED BY  
W. S. W. VAUX, M.A., F.S.A.,  
JOHN EVANS, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S.,  
AND  
FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

NEW SERIES.—VOL. VI.



*Factum abut—monumenta manent.—Ov. Fast.*

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# PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1865—1866.

OCTOBER 19, 1865.

J. WILLIAMS, Esq., Librarian, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced, and laid on the table :—

1. Médailles et Jetons des Numismates décrits par Anthony Durand. 4to. Genève, 1865. From the Author.

2. Notice sur quelques Monnaies Impériales Romaines en or de la coll. du Dr. Colson de Noyon, by Dr. Colson. From the Author.

3. Annuaire de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres, et des Beaux Arts de Belgique, 1865. From the Academy.

4. Bulletin de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres, et des Beaux Arts de Belgique, 53 année, 2nd Ser., tom. xviii., 1864; 34 année, 2nd Ser., t. xix., 1865. From the Academy.

5. Report of the Council of the North China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1864. From the Society.

6. Journal of the North China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, N.S., vol. i., Dec., 1864. From the Society.

7. Photographic Journal, Nos. 159—162, Aug. to Oct., 1865.

8. Il Medagliere Arabo-siculo della Bibliotheca comunale di Palermo, described by Marchese Vincenzo Mortillaro. Palermo, 1861. From the Author.

9. Liste des noms de Lieux inscrites sur les Monnaies Mérovingiennes, by A. de Barthélemy, 1865. From the Author.

10. Blätter für Münzfreunde, Nos. 2 and 3, July, 1865, Leipzig.

11. Proceedings of the Manchester Numismatic Society, Part II., 1865. From the Society.

12. *Revue Numismatique Belge*, 4<sup>e</sup>. Série, vol. iii., 4<sup>e</sup>. livraison. From the Society.

13. *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 2<sup>me</sup> trimestre, 1865. From the Society.

14. *Curiosités Numismatiques*, 8th Article, by M. R. Chalon. From the Author.

15. Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society, vol. v., N.S., Jan., 1865, No. 47. From the Society.

16. *Il monumento Ancirano di Cesare Augusto illustrato co' riscontri delle sue Medaglie*, by Professor Celestino Cavedoni. From the Author.

Mr. Whitbourn exhibited an unpublished penny of Coenwulf, King of Mercia, found in Kent. *Obv.* + LƆENVVLF REX 𐌹. Diademed bust to right. *Rev.* DOBEL. between the limbs of a cruciform ornament formed of four beaded circles, with pellets in the centre, arranged around a large, but similar circle in the middle, to which they are connected by beaded lines.

Mr. Peacock communicated an account of a find of Anglo-Saxon coins at Chester in 1857. The list represents about seventy or eighty specimens, sixty having been stolen a few days after they were found.

Mr. Lambert exhibited a gold medal commemorating the marriage of William of Nassau and Mary, daughter of Charles I., May 2, 1641. On the obverse are the Prince and Princess taking each other's hands, and the legend,

Albionum genuit rex me summusque Monarcha  
Carolus et sponsam me jubet esse tuam.  
Princeps me Henricus genuit fortissimus heros  
Nassoviæ et sponsum me jubet esse tuum.

Mr. Evans read a paper, by himself, on the "Short Cross Question." It is printed in full in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S. vol. v. p. 255.

NOVEMBER 16, 1865.

J. B. BERGNE, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced, and laid on the table :—

1. Darstellung mehrerer bisheriger system für anordnung von Sammlungen mittelalterlicher und moderner Münzen und medaillen, &c., by Joseph Bergmann, Wien, 1865. From the Author.

2. Antiquités Celtiques et Antédiluviennes, vol. iii, by M. Boucher de Perthes, Paris, 1864. From the Author.

3. Mémoires de la Société Impériale d'Emulation d'Abbeville, Part I., 1865. From the Society.

4. Photographic Journal, Nov. 16, 1865.

The Rev. W. Greenwell, M.A., C. J. Leather, Esq., and the Rev. Tullie Cornthwaite, M.A., were elected members of the Society.

Mr. P. H. Fisher exhibited casts of a cast coin of Goa, with the arms of Portugal on the obverse, and ANO DC, 1743, on the reverse, with R in the centre. Also of an Irish penny probably of Edward IV., with stars and roses around the bust on the obverse, and roses instead of pellets in the angles of the cross on the reverse.

Mr. C. Roach Smith exhibited two sceattas found at Bradwell-super-Mare, of the type of Ruding, pl. i. 7.

Mr. J. Wyatt exhibited a coin of Charles II., King of Naples and Sicily, 1285—1309. On the obverse +KAROL' SCD IERL' ET SICIL' REX; shield with the arms of Jerusalem and Anjou and Sicily. On the reverse, +AVE GRACIA PLENA DNS TQCVΩ; the annunciation of the Virgin Mary.

Mr. Evans exhibited some third brass coins of the Constantine period, of which an account is given in the Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. vi. p. 157.

The Rev. J. H. Pollexfen exhibited a silver coin of Cunobeline, found at Colchester, type Evans, pl. xi. fig. 1.

Mr. Williams read some remarks on Mr. Powell's second paper on "Marking not Milling." This paper is printed in the Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. v. p. 365.

Mr. Evans read a paper communicated by F. W. Fairholt, Esq., F.S.A., entitled "Who were the *Custodes Cuneorum* of the Royal Mint?" This paper is printed in the Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. v. p. 361.

Mr. Madden read a paper communicated by M. Borrell, Esq., on "Coins of Lesbos considered as a city distinct from Mitylene." Printed in the Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. v. p. 337.

DECEMBER 14, 1865.

J. WILLIAMS, Esq., Librarian, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced, and laid on the table:—

1. *Revue Numismatique Belge*, 4<sup>e</sup> Ser., vol. iii., livraisons 3 and 4, 1865. From the Society.

2. *Journal of the Kilkenny and S. E. of Ireland Archaeological Society*, vol. v., N.S., Ap. 1865, No. 48. From the Society.

3. *Quelques Jetons des Receveurs de Bruxelles au XIV. siècle*, by M. Renier Chalon. From the Author.

The Rev. A. Pownall exhibited some coins found at Enderby, near Leicester, concealed in the thatch of an old house which was being taken down, together with the leather bag in which they were found. They consisted of eighty-eight coins, from the time of Henry VIII. to that of Charles I.

Mr. Webster exhibited an impression of the die for the obverse of the rare *Rosa Americana* twopence of George II., but taken in iron at the period.

Mr. Evans gave an account of a hoard of Roman coins found near Doncaster, in the formation of a railway, a list of which had been furnished him by Mr. Sheardown of that town. The

coins are all denarii, and range in date from the age of Marc Antony to that of Lucius Verus.

Mr. Johnstone exhibited a proof of the Bank token for 1s. 6d., of 1812, struck in platina; also an impression in gold of the gun-money crown of James II. of 1690; and a forged half-crown of Mary, made by altering a coin of Edward VI. in such a manner as to leave the reverse and part of the legend on the obverse intact.

Mr. Madden read a paper, by himself, on "An Unpublished Gold Medallion of Constantine II.," printed in the Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. v. p. 347.

JANUARY 18, 1866.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced, and laid on the table:—

1. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 3<sup>e</sup> trimestre, 1865. From the Society.

2. Gentleman's Magazine, N.S., Jan. 1865. From Messrs. Bradbury and Evans.

3. Photographic Journal, Nos. 164, 165.

Mr. Evans exhibited two Danish bracteate ornaments in gold of the Iron period, with loops for suspension. Similar specimens have been found in Saxon interments in Kent.

Mr. Freudenthal exhibited a pattern for a decimal coinage. *Obv.* VICTORIA D.G. BRITANNIAR: REGINA F.D. 1857. Head to left, with wreath of oak-leaves. *Rev.* DECIMAL HALFPENNY, 5 CENTIMES. Britannia seated to right.

Mr. G. Brooks exhibited seven groats of the reigns of Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII.; also two Burgundian coins, found in excavations in the neighbourhood of the Edgware Road. They are said to have been found in an earthenware vessel, which was destroyed.

Mr. Boyne exhibited an unpublished medallion, being the second brass coin of the Quinctia family, with *AVGVSTVS TRIBVNIC. POTES.* in a civic wreath on the reverse, but surrounded with four concentric rings, so as to make the whole medallion size 12 of Mionnet's scale.

George Finlay, Esq., LL.D., communicated a paper entitled, "Thoughts about the Coinage of the Achaian League," printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 21.

Mr. Vaux read a letter from Hyde Clarke, Esq., of Smyrna, on the "Beggars' Money, or Tokens in use at that place and at others in the Levant," printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 169.

FEBRUARY 15, 1866.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced, and laid on the table:—

1. *Norges Mynter i Middelalderen*, collected and described by C. I. Schive, with an introduction by C. A. Holmboe, Director of the Cab. of Medals, Christiania. Fol., 1858—1865, in six parts. From Prof. C. A. Holmboe.

2. *Rivista della Numismatica Antica e Moderna*, continued by E. Maggiora-Vergano. Vol. I. Fascicolo IV. Asti, 1865. From the Editor.

3. *Monete Franco-Italische Ossidionali*, by Carlo Morbio. 1865. From the Author.

4. *Publications de la Société pour la Recherche et la Conservation des Monuments historiques, dans la Grand-Duché de Luxembourg*. XVII. année, 1865; XIX. année, 1866. From the Society.

5. *Proceedings of the Kilkenny and S. E. of Ireland Archæological Society*, vol. v., N.S. July, 1865. No. 49. From the Society.



6. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, ed. by Dr. Hermann Brockhaus. IV. Band, No 1. Indische Hausregeln, by Adolph Friedrich Stenzler. I. Âçvalâyaña. 2nd part. From the Editor.

R. Jennings, Esq., J. Jones, Esq., and H. Tinson, Esq., were elected members of the Society.

Mr. Webster exhibited a remarkably fine large brass coin of Ælius—*Rev.* TR. POT. COS. II. CONCORD. S.C. Seated figure. Also a copper coin of Thene in Crete—*Obv.* Youthful Janiform head. *Rev.* ΘENE. An axe placed diagonally.

Mr. H. Eckroyd Smith exhibited impressions of a Saxon sceatta recently found on the sea-shore of Cheshire. It resembles in type Ruding, pl. i., No. 7, but is rather ruder in execution and not so well spread.

Mr. H. W. Rolfe exhibited an ancient British coin, lately found in dredging in the Thames at Walton. The obverse shows some traces of the rude head, but is nearly plain, like Evans, pl. B, Nos. 9 and 10. The reverse has the wheel beneath the horse, and the exergue has the zigzag ornament.

Mr. J. Y. Akerman communicated a notice of a find of a *denarius* of Julian Cæsar. *Obv.* CAESAR DIC. Veiled and laureated head of Cæsar; behind it, the *præfericulum*. *Rev.* Bare head of Antony. The coin is much worn from long circulation.

Mr. H. F. B. Holt, H.M. Consular Service, China, gave an account of a collection of Chinese coins formed by himself in China. Printed in the Num. Chron., N.S., vol. vi. p. 91.

MARCH 15, 1866.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced, and laid upon the table :—

1. Introductory Lecture on Archæology, Camb., 8vo., 1865, by the Rev. Prof. Churchill Babington, B.D. From the Author.

2. *Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires du Nord*, 4<sup>e</sup> trimestre, 1865. From the Society.

3. *Les Médailles de France de Enzinas*, by Renier Chalon. From the Author.

4. *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, vol. iv., 1<sup>e</sup> livraison, 1866. From the Society.

Mr. Freudenthal exhibited some pieces of five, ten, and twenty centimes of Geffrard, President of Hayti, 1863; also an ancient imitation of a second brass coin of Claudius; and a Taou, or knife-money, value 500 leangs of the largest size, the existence of which had been doubted.

Mr. Evans exhibited a cast of a British coin, found at Brickkiln Farm, near Chesham, Bucks. It is of the type Evans, pl. A, No. 4, but with a plain rosette of pellets beneath the horse.

Mr. Webster exhibited the broad-cross threepence of Queen Elizabeth, dated 1575 (Ruding, pl. xiii., No. 15), of which only two other specimens are known.

Mr. J. C. Jones exhibited a penny of Edward VI., struck in London, found at Walton, Warwickshire.

The Rev. Professor C. Babington, B.D., read a paper, by himself, entitled "On an Unpublished Coin of Laodicea, in Phrygia, bearing the name of an Asiarch; with some Account of the Office of the Asiarchs, and an Enumeration of the Passages in Ancient Authors, and also of the Coins and Inscriptions, where they are mentioned." This paper is printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 93.

APRIL 19, 1866.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced, and laid upon the table :—

1. *Drei Pfennige der Læssøe'schen Sammlung*, by M. le Baron de Koehne. From the Author.

2. Leo Zar, by the same. From the same.

3. Photographic Journal, April 16, 1866.

4. British War Medals, by James Gibson, London, 1866.  
From the Author.

5. Some Account of a Japanese Chronological Work, by J. Williams, Esq. From the Author.

H. C. Coote, Esq., and G. E. Swithenbank, Esq., were elected members of the Society.

Mr. Smallfield exhibited a medal of the late President Lincoln in tin, to be issued in bronze by the American Numismatic Society of New York; copies, at £1 10s. each, can be had at Messrs. Stevens', 17, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.

Mr. James Brown, of Salisbury, sent for exhibition casts of a penny of Edward the Confessor, recently found at that place. It is of the type Ruding, pl. 25, No. 23, and of interest as having been struck at Sarum (a town where but few coins were minted in Edward's reign), and as presenting the name of a moneyer not before known—

### PINEMAN ON SERE.

Mr. Webster exhibited an angel of Henry VIII., counter-marked with the arms of Zealand.

Mr. George Sim communicated an account of a hoard of 141 pennies of Edward I. and II., which had been buried in a horn at Keir, in the county of Dumfries, and were discovered in October last. The coins were struck at different mints, and in the following proportions:—London, 56; Canterbury, 45; Durham, 23; Bury St. Edmund's, 6; York, 5; Berwick, 2; Bristol, 2; Newcastle, 2: Total, 141.

A paper was read, communicated by Mr. J. F. Neck, "On some Unpublished Half-crowns of Charles I." Printed in the Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. vi. p. 152.

Mr. Williams read a paper "On the Japanese Nen-go, with additional Tables to facilitate its use." Printed in the Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. vi. p. 313.

MAY 17, 1866.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced, and laid on the table:—

1. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, N.S., vol. ii. Part I. 1866. From the Society.

2. Photographic Journal, May 15, 1866.

3. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, ed. by Professor D. H. Brockhaus, vol. iv. No. 2. Cantanava's Phitsutra, by Franz Kielhorn. Leipzig, 1866. From the Society.

4. Ditto, ditto, vol. iv. No. 3. Ueber die Jüdische Angologie und Dæmonologie, by Dr. Alex. Kohut. Leipzig, 1866. From the Society.

5. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 1<sup>e</sup> trimestre, 1866. From the Society.

6. Curiosités Numismatiques. Monnaies rares ou inédites, by M. Renier Chalon. From the Author.

7. The Antiquities and Legends of Durham, by Stanley C. Bagg, Esq., President of the Numismatic Society of Montreal. From the Author.

8. Congrès scientifique de France. 33<sup>me</sup> Session. Anvers, 1 August, 1865.

Mr. Freudenthal exhibited specimens of the new bronze coinage for Jersey, with a head of the Queen even more youthful than usual, and the ordinary legend on the obverse. On the reverse, the arms of Jersey, with the legend STATES OF JERSEY above, and below, the value of the coin. These are of two denominations—one-thirteenth of a shilling and one twenty-sixth of a shilling. Though the relief is low, the coins are wretchedly struck, and have more the appearance of Birmingham counters than of coins issued from a royal mint.

Mr. C. Roach Smith sent for exhibition a coin of Allectus

belonging to Mr. Allen, with the reverse legend, VIRTVS AVG., but with the type of a galley bearing the recumbent figure of Neptune instead of the usual rowers.

Mr. Evans read a notice of two unpublished Saxon coins in the collection of Mr. H. Burke Godwin. The first is of Offa, combining the obverse of Ruding, pl. iv. No. 10, with the reverse of pl. C, No. 4, the moneyer's name being DVD. The other is of Ceolwlf I. of Mercia. *Obv.* +CE◇LVVF (*sic*) REX; barbarous bust to the right. *Rev.* +EDTF OTR (?); a cross with oval loops at the end of each limb. This paper is printed in the Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. vi. p. 307.

Mr. Madden read a letter from the Baron Prokesch-Osten to Mr. Newton, announcing the discovery of a tetradrachm of Characene, struck under Hyaspasines, the founder of Spasinou-Charax. He also describes other unpublished coins of Crete and Ionia. Printed in the Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. vi. p. 134.

Mr. Vaux read a short note "On the Woodhouse Collection." The magnificent collection, formed by J. Woodhouse, Esq., of Corfu, has recently been bequeathed to the nation. It contains 5,668 specimens, viz. :—101 gold, 2,381 silver, 3,128 copper, and 58 lead. Among the rarities may be mentioned a tetradrachm of Eryx, in Sicily; a didrachm of Maronea, in Thrace; a tetradrachm of Bisalte, in Macedon; a didrachm of Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, the father of Pyrrhus; two gold staters of Corcyra; a didrachm of Tanagra, in Boeotia; a dodecadrachm of Athens; a didrachm of Elis; and a didrachm of Othontopates, the last Satrap of Caria. Many of these rare coins are in splendid preservation.

Mr. Vaux read a short paper, by himself, "On a Coin of Motya, in Sicily, bearing a Phœnician legend." Printed in the Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. vi. p. 128.

JUNE 21, 1866.

### ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

W. Blades, Esq., and S. Smith, Esq., jun., were elected members of the Society.

The minutes of the last Anniversary Meeting were read and confirmed. The Report of the Council was then read to the Meeting :—

GENTLEMEN,—In accordance with the usual custom of this Society, the Council have the honour to lay before you their Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society, at this, another Anniversary Meeting. The Council regret to have to announce their loss by *death* of the three following ordinary members :—<sup>1</sup>

John Lee, Esq., LL.D., Q.C., F.R.S.

F. W. Fairholt, Esq., F.S.A.

E. K. Lidderdale, Esq., B.A. ;

and of the three following honorary members :—

M. le Duc de Blacas d'Aulps.

M. Prof. Abbate Celestino Cavedoni.

Herr Christian Jürgensen Thomsen.

The Numismatic world has also lost an old friend by the death of Admiral Smyth, F.R.S., who was formerly a member of the Numismatic Society, and of whom a brief account will not be unacceptable to the Numismatic Society.

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written we have had the misfortune to lose the Rev. H. J. Boone Nicholson, D.D., George H. Virtue, Esq., for many years Treasurer of this Society, and George Eastwood, Esq. A memoir of each of these gentlemen will be given in the next Annual Report.

The Council also have to record the loss by *resignation* of—

Thomas Brown, Esq.

W. H. Coxe, Esq.

On the other hand they have much pleasure in recording the election of the ten following members :

William Blades, Esq. }

Henry Charles Coote, Esq.

Rev. Tullie Cornthwaite, M.A.

Rev. William Greenwell, M.A.

Robert Jennings, Esq.

Thomas Jones, Esq.

C. J. Leather, Esq.

Samuel Smith, Jun., Esq.

G. E. Swithenbank, Esq.

Harold Tinson, Esq.

According to our Secretary's Report, our members are therefore as follows :—

	Original.	Elected.	Honorary.	Total.
Members, June, 1865 . . .	8	114	40	162
Since elected . . . . .	—	10	—	10
	8	124	40	172
Deceased . . . . .	1	2	3	6
Resigned . . . . .	—	2	—	2
Members, June, 1866 . .	7	120	37	164

It will be interesting now to give a brief account of those whom we have lost from our ranks.

For the following account of Dr. LEE the Society is indebted to J. Williams, Esq.

JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., Member of the College of Advocates, was born April 28, 1783. After the usual elementary classical education, he entered as a scholar of St. John's College, Cam-

bridge, of which he subsequently became a Fellow, and had also the appointment of travelling Bachelor, in which capacity he visited Greece, Egypt, the Holy Land, &c. His name originally was Fiott, he being the son of John Fiott, Esq., merchant of London, who married Harriet, the daughter of William Lee, Esq., of Totteridge Park, Herts. He assumed the name of Lee by royal mandate, in 1815, in compliance with the requisition contained in the will of his maternal uncle William Lee Antonie, Esq., of Colworth House, Beds, whose property he inherited on that condition. On the death of Sir George Lee, Bart., he succeeded to the Hartwell estate, and thus the whole of the family estates became united in him.

Dr. Lee was a Fellow of the Royal, the Antiquarian, the Royal Astronomical, and many other learned and scientific societies. He was the originator of the Numismatic Society, the preliminary meeting being held on June 27, 1836, at Dr. Lee's residence, 5, College, Doctors' Commons, and the first ordinary meeting being held at the apartments of the Royal Astronomical Society, on Dec. 22, 1836; Dr. Lee in the chair. He was for many years President of this Society.

With the exception of a few papers printed in the *Archæologia* and other scientific publications, Dr. Lee was not distinguished as an author; but the liberality with which he patronised objects in aid of public utility is fully exemplified in the following list of valuable works by the late Admiral W. H. Smyth, which were published at his sole expense.

1. "Descriptive Catalogue of a Cabinet of Roman Imperial Large Brass Medals." 4to. Bedford: 1834.

2. "Ædes Hartwellianæ, or Notices of the Manor and Mansion of Hartwell." 4to. London: 1851.

3. "Addenda to the Ædes Hartwellianæ." 4to. London: 1864.

4. "The Cycle of Celestial Objects, continued at the Hartwell Observatory to 1859." 4to. London: 1860. This last is commonly known as "Speculum Hartwellianum."



These works are too well known in the scientific world to need any further comment here.

Dr. Lee was twice married, but had no issue by either of his wives. He died February, 1866, and will be long lamented by his tenantry and others, to whom he had endeared himself by his uniform benevolence, and attention to their wants and interests.

FREDERICK WILLIAM FAIRHOLT, Esq., F.S.A., expired on April 3rd, 1866, at his residence, 22, Montpelier Square, Brompton, after a long and severe illness, aged 52.

Mr. Fairholt was born in London in the year 1814, of German parents. He was the sixteenth child and the only one who survived infancy. At an early age he showed great talent for drawing, and was constantly employed in illustrating several works, of which a complete list is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1866, p. 913. His earliest work as an author appeared in 1843, entitled "History of Lord Mayors' Pageants," forming, in two parts, the 10th volume of the Percy Society's publications. In 1846 appeared his history of "Costume in England," which reached a third edition in 1862. In 1847, "The Home of Shakspeare, illustrated and described;" in 1849, "Eccentric and Remarkable Characters;" in 1859, the "History of Tobacco," and many others in other years. Among the most important works illustrated by Mr. Fairholt may be mentioned the "Miscellanea Graphica, or Collection of Antiquities of the late Lord Londesborough;" Mr. Wright's "Celt, Roman, and Saxon," 1852; and "Wanderings of an Antiquary," 1854; Mr. Roach Smith's "Collectanea Antiqua;" "The Art-Journal;" Mr. Halliwell's "Shakspeare," &c., &c.

The numismatic books illustrated by Mr. Fairholt were Mr. Hawkins's "Silver Coinage of England," 1841; Mr. Evans' "Ancient British Coins," 1864; and Mr. Madden's "History of Jewish Coinage and Money in the Old and New Testament," 1864; besides which, numerous plates of the Numismatic

Chronicle are from his skilful hand, the first of which was published in 1854 (Num. Chron., vol. xvi., 1854).

Mr. Fairholt was enrolled as a member of the Numismatic Society on June 19, 1845, and on July 9, 1846, was elected a member of the Council, a position he held at intervals till the time of his death. He contributed to the Numismatic Chronicle four papers:—

1. "Proclamation against Wood's Half-pence," 1852. Vol. xiv. pp. 54—56.
2. "On Early Celtic Coins found in Kent," 1854. Vol. xvi. pp. 184—186.
3. "On Ancient German Coins," 1862. N.S., vol. ii. p. 37.
4. "Who were the *Custodes Cuneorum* of the Royal Mint?" 1865. N.S., vol. v. p. 361.

His loss will not only be deplored by those who were personally acquainted with him, but by all lovers of archæology and numismatics.

EDWARD KEAT LIDDERDALE, Esq., B.A., of the Bombay Civil Service, was carried off by rapid consumption, at Bombay, on Jan. 13, 1866. He was the youngest son of the late John Lidderdale, Esq., of St. Petersburg, and after completing his education at St. Peter's College, Cambridge, where he graduated in the autumn of 1865, obtained an appointment in India, which he was not destined to hold for more than a few weeks. He had early acquired a taste for coins, and had his life been spared would probably have become a valuable correspondent of the Society on the subject of Oriental Numismatics.

M. LE DUC DE BLACAS D'AULPS died at Venice on Saturday, Feb. 10, 1866.

The Duke de Blacas was the eldest son of the late duke, a particular friend of Louis XVIII., and of Félicie Henriette de Sourches de Montsoreau. He was born in London, April 15, 1815, and passed his younger days in Germany, owing to the

political events in France of 1830. His father was well known as a great encourager of science and literature, and his son followed in his footsteps. The duke contributed several papers to the *Revue Numismatique*, and at the time of his death was engaged in translating from the German the "History of Roman Coinage" of M. Theodor Mommsen, of which the first volume had appeared barely one year. While at Venice he was occupied in studying the coins of the Doges, and two days before his death was engaged in his researches with M. Nicolo Barozzi, Keeper of the Correr Museum. (For a full account of the life of this excellent man, see an article by M. le Baron de Witte in the *Rev. Num.*, 1866, p. 66.)

For the brief notice here following of the life and writings of the late lamented PROF. ABBE CAVEDONI we are principally indebted to the kindness of Cav. Carlo Gonzales. This gentleman was selected by the Minister of Public Instruction to report on all the works published or MS. of the deceased numismatist, with the probability of their being published together at the expense of the State. The Italian Government, doubtless owing to the unsettled state of the country, have not till now come to a decision; and Sig. Gonzales has since informed us that a private society has been formed at Modena, and that it will soon publish *una notizia sulla vita e le opere di Cavedoni*.<sup>1</sup>

The late MONSIGNOR CELESTINO CAVEDONI was born at Livizzano Rangone, in the duchy of Modena, in 1795. While still a youth he was admitted into the Seminary of Modena, and discovered unusual talent and a passionate liking for the study of

Since this was written the work has appeared. It has been prepared by MM. Pietro Bortolotte, Antonio Masinelli, Antonio Dondi, and Luigi Della Valle, and is entitled *Notizie intorno alla vita ed alle opere di Monsig. Celestino Cavedoni, con appendice di sue lettere ed altre cose inedite*. Modena, 1866. M. de Witte has made use of this for an article in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1866, p. 367.

history and archæology. Recommended to the Minister of Instruction, the Marchese Luigi Rangoni, and by him to Francis IV., the then reigning duke, he enjoyed the fullest protection, and was enabled to prosecute even beyond his native land his archæological and polyglottic studies. In 1821 he was appointed to the Numismatic Museum of Este, and afterwards to the Palatine Library, where in 1846 he succeeded the Cavaliere Lombardi, and of which he remained Director till the day of his death. Sig. Cavedoni was an Associate of the Imperial Institute of France, of the Institute of Berlin, of the Academies of Rome, Naples, and Torino; a member of the Lombardo-Venetian Institute, of the Society of Literature of Lyons, of the Institute of Gottingen, and an honorary member of the Numismatic Society of London. He was also Chevalier of the Legion of Honour of Civil Merit of Savoy, Officer of the Mauritanian Order, Secret Chamberlain to his Holiness, President of the Deputation of Modenese History, and was one of the Commission of the three most illustrious archæologists nominated by the Emperor Napoleon III. for the revision and printing of the works of Borghesi. He was also Professor of Holy Scripture and of the Hebrew language at the Royal University. Sig. Cavedoni has by his will left to the Palatine Library at Modena all his MSS., his literary and scientific correspondence, and all his books enriched with marginal notes, among which is the "Doctrina Numorum Veterum" of Eckhel, nearly entirely rewritten.

He was buried at Modena with great honours on the 26th of November, 1865, in the 71st year of his age.

The *works* of Cavedoni, in the proper sense of the word, are very few. Although he was for upwards of forty-six years of his life entirely devoted to science, and was constantly writing, he generally produced small but important articles, which he published in different periodicals.

Of his important works published *separately* at Modena there are only three.

1. "Dichiarazione degli antichi marmi Modenese con le

notizie di Modena al tempo dei Romani." Modena, 8vo., 1828. 2 plates, and xii. and 316 pages.

2. "Spicelegio Numismatico." Modena, 8vo., 1838. 364 pages.

3. "Ragguaglio Storico Archeologico de precipui ripostigli antichi." Modena, 1854. 291 pages.

Other important works of Cavedoni, as "Il saggio di osservazioni sopra le Medaglie di famiglie Romane;" "Le Annotazioni al Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum," and the now famed "Numismatica Biblica," appeared in the *Memorie di Religione*, &c., first of all, and then were published separately in *very limited number*.

The "Carellii Nummorum Italiæ veteris tabulæ," edited by Cavedoni, were printed at Leipzig in 1850.

Articles of Cavedoni have appeared in the following periodicals:—

I. PERIODICALS OF MODENA.—1. *Memorie di Religione, Morale e Letteratura*, from the year 1822 to 1857. Three series, each of 18 vols. 8vo; total, 54 vols. 2. *Opuscoli Religiosi Letterari e Morali*, from 1857 to 1866. Two series; the first of 12 vols., from 1857 to 1863; the second of 6 vols. 3. *Il Conservatore di Modena*. 4. *L'Educatore Storico*. 5. *L'Indicatore Economico*. 6. *La Gazzetta di Modena*. 7. *L'Annuario Storico Modenese*. 8. *Rivista di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*. 9. *Atti e Memorie della Deputazioni di Storia Patria*. 10. *Il Giornale Letterario e Scientifico Modenese*.

Besides the three principal works above described, and the articles in the above-mentioned periodicals, there have also appeared:—1. "Bambagioli Graziuolo, Trattato delle Volgari Sentenze sopra le Virtu Morali." Modena, 8vo. Eredi Soliani 1821, edited by Cavedoni, with corrections and notes. 2. "Notizie e dichiarazioni di un diploma militare dell' Imp. Vespasiano nuovamente trovato in Ungheria." Modena, 8vo. 1832. 3. "Sopra una moneta rara di Massimiliano I. Imp. coniatà in Modena intorno al 1511;" lettera al ch. Nobile Sig. Cav. G. G. Orti. Modena, 8vo. 1835. 4. "Indicazione dei

principali monumenti antichi del Ro. Museo Estenze „del Catajo.” Modena, 8vo. 1842. 128 pages. 5. “Del origine ed incrementi del odierno regio Museo Estenze delle Medaglie” (estratto dal Tributo della *Reale Accademia di Scienze Lettere ed Arti di Modena alla memoria di Francesco IV.*). Modena, 8vo. 1846. 30 pages. From this it appears that the Numismatic Collection of Modena, carried away by the ex-Duke in 1859, was composed as follows:—Total number, 35,000 ancient and modern coins and medals, duplicates included. There were Greek autonomous, 3,443; Greek Imperial, 2,028; Roman family, 4,266; Imperial, 16,958; modern and mediæval, 8,512. 6. “*Lectiones Evangelicæ juxta Missale Romanum.*” Mutinæ M.DCCCL. 244 pages. 7. “Confutazione dei principali errori di Ernesti Renan nella sua *Vie de Jesus.*” Modena, 1863. 4th edition. &c. &c.

II. PERIODICALS OF BOLOGNA.—*Opuscoli Letterari*, 1819. “*Observationes in Pindarum, Epistola.*” This is the first publication of Cavedoni.

III. PERIODICALS OF PERUGIA.—*Giornale Scientifico e Letterario pubblicato in Perugia sotto la Direzione del Dr. Ferdinando Speroni.* This periodical is now extinct. Cavedoni's articles appeared in the years 1835-36-37-38-39-56, in vols. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 of the first series, and in the *Dispensa* iii. of the new series of the year 1856.

IV. PERIODICALS OF ROME.—1. *Il Bulletino e gli Annali dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica.* 30 vols. of the *Bulletino*, and 37 of the *Annali*. 2. *Giornale Arcadico.* 3. *Album*; both very voluminous.

V. PERIODICALS OF NAPLES.—1. *Bulletino Archeologico Napolitano.* 2. *Il Giambattista Vico*, a Neapolitan periodical little known, where in vol. iii. pp. 243-250, there is an article of Cavedoni, “Intorno alla maniera di dipingere del celebre Tommaso dei Modena;” and later, in 1857, the article, “Notizia intorno all' opera intitolata, ‘Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII. siècles reunies et annotées par Edmond le Blant.’ ”

VI. PERIODICALS OF VERONA.—*Poligrafo*. In 1833 Cavedoni inserted an article called "Sopra alcune deità mostruose e pantei della mitologia Greca."

There are also articles of Cavedoni in the *Memorie della Reale Accademia di Torino*; *Bullettino Archeologico Sardo*; *Journal des Savans*; *Revue Numismatique* of Paris; *Revue Numismatique* of Brussels; *Revue Archéologique* of Paris and Brussels; and in the *Rivista Numismatica*.

HERR CHRISTIAN JÜRGENSEN THOMSEN, Councillor of State, Grand Cross of the Dannebrog, and Director of the Museums of Antiquities and Ethnography, and of the Cabinet of Medals, at Copenhagen, expired on the 21st of May, 1865, after a short illness.

Herr Thomsen was born at Copenhagen on the 27th of December, 1788. From a very early period of his life he showed great zeal and love for art and antiquities, and especially advanced the study of northern antiquities, increasing tenfold the collections in the Prince's palace. He also paid great attention to the Ethnographical Museum in the same palace, and arranged the collections in the Museum of the kings of Denmark at Rosenborg. Herr Thomsen succeeded Brøndsted as Director of the Royal Cabinet of Coins, to which numerous bequests—notably that of Christian VIII.—have at various times been made. Thomsen was chiefly a mediæval numismatist, and seems more to have devoted himself to the arrangement rather than to a description of the coins under his care. He has, however, written a few papers, of which most are published in the *Berliner Zeitschrift für Münzkunde*.

ADMIRAL WILLIAM HENRY SMYTH, K.S.F., D.O.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., &c., expired at his residence, St. John's Lodge, near Aylesbury, on the 9th of September, 1865, aged 79.

An account of the naval life of Admiral Smyth will be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1865, p. 784; whilst elaborate lists of his works are given in Lowndes'

"Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature," and in the Appendix to the "*Ædes Hartwellianæ*." Admiral Smyth was formerly a member of the Numismatic Society, and held the office of Foreign Secretary in 1838, 1839, and 1840. Though he never contributed any paper to the Numismatic Chronicle, there is a paper of his on Tradesmen's Tokens in the Numismatic Journal, Vol. I. p. 139, signed Σ, and he found sufficient leisure to write the following numismatic works:—

1. "Descriptive Catalogue of a Cabinet of Roman Imperial Large Brass Coins." 4to. Bedford: 1834. Privately printed.
2. "Descriptive Catalogue of a Cabinet of Roman Family Coins belonging to his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, K.G." 4to. 1856. Printed for private circulation.
3. "Catalogue of the Coins, Medals, and Tradesmen's Tokens of the Society of Antiquaries." 1847. Published by the Society.
4. "Catalogue of Roman Coins presented to the Society of Antiquaries by the Rev. R. E. Kerrick." 1852. Published by the Society.

Of these, the first is the *chef-d'œuvre*. It is a detailed catalogue of a cabinet belonging to the late Dr. Lee, and is a work in its character unique, in that it, alone of numismatic memoirs, combines a scientific description of each coin, with historical and interesting notices of the various personages commemorated on them.

Admiral Smyth was for many years the friend, neighbour, and tenant of Dr. Lee; and the "*Ædes Hartwellianæ*," and "*Addenda*" to the same, were both edited by Admiral Smyth for the latter gentleman, of whom we have a little earlier given a brief obituary account.

The Council beg to congratulate the Society upon the completion of the fifth volume of the New Series of the Chronicle, which is not inferior either in size or in materials to any of its predecessors. Members are earnestly requested to assist the Editors by contributing papers.

The Report of our late Treasurer is as follows:—





The meeting then proceeded to ballot for the officers of the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were elected :—

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The Society then adjourned until October 18th, 1866.

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OF THE  
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
OF LONDON,  
DECEMBER, 1866.

LIST OF MEMBERS  
OF THE  
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
OF LONDON,  
DECEMBER, 1866.

*An Asterisk prefixed to a name indicates that the Member has compounded  
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# NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

## I.

### COINS OF THE PTOLEMIES. (*Continued.*)

#### LIST OF THE COINS OF PTOLEMY VII. PHILOMETOR.



B.C.	Year of Reign.	
181-0	1	Regency of Cleopatra I. Epiphanes.
cir. 174-3.	cir. 8	

#### CLASS A., WITH PORTRAIT OF CLEOPATRA.

#### COPPER COINS.

#### TYPE I.

With names of Ptolemy and Cleopatra.

PTOLEMAÏS ?

1. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ. Head of Cleo-  
VOL. VI. N.S. B

Size. Weight.

patra, right, bound with corn-wreath, hair falling in one short and four long curls.

ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. Eagle, left, on thunderbolt, looking back; behind, single cornucopiæ with fillets; in front  $\pi$ ? (Cut No. 1.)

$3\frac{1}{2}$  56+

A. The head on these coins is a portrait; not only has it the aspect of a portrait, not an ideal head, but the head of a statue of a queen of the Ptolemaic family from Cyrene, now in the British Museum (Smith and Porcher, *Discoveries at Cyrene*, No. 68, p. 95), so nearly resembles it, that the two must represent the same queen. The corn-wreath shews that the queen is as usual represented in the character of a goddess: if the coin were pure Greek, we should say of Proserpine; but a bust, slightly varied by an addition to the head-dress, in the copper series of Antiochus IV., struck in Egypt (Nos. 39, *seqq.* below), shews that Isis, worshipped at Alexandria as consort of Serapis, was intended, who might well be compared to Proserpine, from the connection of Serapis with the shades, and also (as Osiris) with produce.

The main reasons for assigning this portrait to Cleopatra I. Epiphanes, and fixing the issue of the coins to her lifetime, and specially to her regency, are as follows:— (1) The head of Isis is what we should expect in the case of Cleopatra I. Epiphanes. Her husband, Ptolemy V. Epiphanes, on his coins either wears a plain diadem or a radiate one, or most commonly one to which is attached an ear of corn. The radiate diadem gives him the character of the Sun, connected with Serapis; and the diadem with corn would be not repugnant to the character of Serapis.<sup>1</sup> The head with the corn-wreath would

<sup>1</sup> His assimilation to the Sun or a solar divinity would be a natural consequence of his title Epiphanes, as in the like case of the coins of Euergetes I.

therefore be thoroughly appropriate to the wife of Ptolemy Epiphanes. (2) The copper coins of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, struck in Egypt, present the types of Jupiter Serapis, of Isis, and of the Syrian king, as the Sun. Jupiter has the usual Greek laureate head, with at the top of the wreath a small plumed cap of Osiris, to mark Serapis. Isis has a bust differing only from that described above in being a bust, not a head, and in the addition, at the top of the wreath, of a small horned disk of Isis; the style presents a slight difference, and it may be remarked that the curl resting on the left shoulder is seen in this type as well as in types of coins of Cleopatra which do not bear her name. As Cleopatra Epiphanes was sister of Antiochus Epiphanes, nothing is more likely than that he should have represented her on his coins. But are we to suppose that he struck types wholly new? If he had done so, why did he adopt not merely Egyptian subjects for the obverses, except in the case of his own head (represented however in a character sometimes given to Ptolemy Epiphanes on his coins), but the Egyptian eagle for the reverse, a needless imitation of the Egyptian currency? There is, therefore, every probability that the coinage of a Cleopatra was copied by Antiochus Epiphanes, and if so, this Cleopatra must have been his sister. The time of striking would then probably be during the regency, for it is likely that Antiochus would have adopted the most recent types. These arguments will gain additional force if we find any evidence that the Jupiter Serapis type of Antiochus Epiphanes is traceable on coins that can be assigned to any earlier period. (3) The correspondent types of Antiochus Epiphanes are found combined on a remarkable didrachm, of which two examples have been examined by me. I thus describe it:

Busts of Jupiter Serapis and Isis, jugate, right; the former with laurel wreath, at the top of which is a small cap of Osiris; the latter wearing ear of corn (end of corn-wreath), above which is small disk of Isis, with horns; both draped. *Rev.*, ΠΤΟΑΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Eagle, left, on thunderbolt, looking back; behind, double cornucopiæ with fillets, end of which is seen before right wing; between legs of eagle, ΔΙ; ⱥ; weight, 213·9; B. M. (Cut No. 2). *Var.* *Rev.*, In front of eagle Ω; between legs, ΣΙ (Sidon); Mr. Wigan; ⱥ; weight, 215·2.

A gold signet-ring, in the British Museum, recently acquired by Mr. Newton from Sig. Castellani, of Rome, represents the same subject as that of the obverse of these coins, with the important difference, that the long curl resting on the left shoulder, as in some coins of Cleopatra without her name, is distinctly represented; and the less important ones, that the long plumes of the disk of Isis are visible, and that beneath the ear of corn is the end of a tiara (Cut No. 3). The bust on the didrachms, as well as on the ring, is evidently that of the Cleopatra of the Egyptian and Egypto-Syrian copper coins. The character in all cases is that of Isis, for the addition of the disk with horns on the Egypto-Syrian coins is decisive on this point. The portrait is also the same; remarkable for the fulness of the cheek and lower jaw, the line of the latter in the ring being most characteristic, and forming a very obtuse exterior angle with the line of the throat; but the same peculiarity may be traced throughout the Egyptian copper coins. The relation of the didrachms to the copper coins is further seen in the reverse-type, which is by no means a common one, and occurs, I believe, in no other silver or gold coins, and on not many types of

copper. The date of the didrachms may be partly conjectured from the style, which, especially in the eagle, points to a period later than that of Ptolemy IV. Philopator, and in this and the letters to one about the time of Ptolemy V. Epiphanes. It may further be ascertained from the letters  $\Omega$   $\Sigma$ , which can, I think, be convincingly shewn to stand on coins of Ptolemy III. and IV. for the name of the powerful Sosibius. (See below, pp. 13, 14.) If they here stand for the same name, it must be that of a Sosibius in power at or after the marriage of Ptolemy V. Epiphanes to Cleopatra I. The powerful Sosibius was guardian of Ptolemy Epiphanes (*ψευδεπίτροπος*) (Polyb. Reliq. xv. 28) at the beginning of his reign (Id. 25), though supplanted by his colleague Agathocles, and probably killed by him (*Cf.* Id. 25). Shortly afterwards, Sosibius, son of Sosibius, one of the body-guard (*σωματοφύλαξ ὑπάρχων*), took the lead in the disturbance that ended in the downfall of Agathocles (Id. 32). He thus obtained the king's signet-ring (still as in Joseph's time the mark of viceregal power, Gen. xli. 42), and custody of his body, but was compelled by his colleague Tlepolemus to resign the ring to him, and with it the supreme authority (xvi. 22). It is, however, by no means certain that he ceased to hold a high place, or even to be an inferior colleague of Tlepolemus. There is, therefore, nothing to forbid the conjecture that he may at or after the time of Cleopatra's marriage have been sufficiently powerful to put his name on the coinage. The occurrence of the initials of Sidon on Mr. Wigan's didrachm, and the monogram of Ptolemaïs on coins of Cleopatra, is rather a difficulty, than an indication of date. It must be subsequently noticed. Here it is sufficient to remark that the difficulty of reconciling

written with numismatic history, when the latter shews that an Egyptian Cleopatra struck money continuously in Phœnicia, increases with each later Cleopatra, so that it cannot affect the attribution of these coins to the earliest. If the bust of Isis represents Cleopatra, then that of Jupiter Serapis must represent Ptolemy, her husband. As, however, the conventional traits of Jupiter are preserved, Ptolemy would be represented by, not as Jupiter. This supposition is not wholly repugnant to the ideas of Greek regal coinage. Thus all the kings of Pergamus but one, perhaps two, were represented on their coins by Philetærus, the head of their line, and the portrait of Ptolemy I. probably occupies the obverses of a very large proportion of coins struck after his reign; besides which, most portraits of kings are more or less assimilated to his. It would be quite impossible to assimilate the head of Jupiter to that of Ptolemy Epiphanes, whose features are essentially immature on all his coins, and this may explain the combination of an ideal head of Jupiter with a portrait not even idealized. It may, however, be objected that it is unlikely a king should have been represented by a head of Jupiter Serapis and as the Sun. We find Antiochus Epiphanes represented as, not by Jupiter, and as the Sun, with a radiate diadem, and also as one of the Dioscuri, with a star at the top of his diadem. The cases are good parallels. Each had the title Epiphanes, they were nearly connected, and a kind of imitation seems traceable in giving the name Eupator by Antiochus to his only son, as it had been by Ptolemy to his eldest son. It may be worth while to notice the arguments that might be alleged to attribute the didrachms to Ptolemy IV. Philopator, and Arsinoë. The only direct evidence that would seem to point to them is the occurrence of the letters  $\Omega$   $\Sigma$ , which would be more

likely to represent the name of the first, than of the second Sôsibius. The portrait of Philopator is quite as repugnant to the head of Jupiter, as that of Epiphanes. That of Arsinoë, though it may correspond in the character in which the queen is represented on her gold staters, is very different in the portrait. The character might be that of Isis, for the tiara appears on the staters, as on the ring; and the sceptre seems to terminate in a plumed cap of Osiris. The portrait is, however, markedly different. Arsinoë has a Roman classical face, sharp and refined, with high forehead, large eye, delicate bridged nose, and small chin. The queen of the didrachm and the ring has a face of the Greek type, but heavy, with low forehead, large eye, and straight nose. The former resembles most remarkably her son Ptolemy Epiphanes; the later is not wholly unlike Antiochus Epiphanes. From the evidence of the didrachms and ring we have therefore further reasons for considering the copper coin under examination to have been struck by Cleopatra I. (4) The title Queen appears to be found applied on coins to the following Egyptian sovereigns only:—Berenice I., struck by Magas, King of Cyrene; Berenice II.; Cleopatra I.? Cleopatra II.? Cleopatra III.? Cleopatra VI. The first instance is an exceptional one, for the coins are not properly of the Egyptian series. The second case is of the heiress of Magas, who brought to Egypt the kingdom of Cyrene. The fourth is of the sister and co-regent of Euergetes II., afterwards wife of Philometor, and again co-regent of Euergetes II., and for a time sole queen. The fifth, if of Cleopatra III., is of the heiress of Ptolemy VII. Philometor. The last of the celebrated Cleopatra, who, when ruling with a colleague, always arrogated to herself the full rights of co-regency. The cases of Arsinoë Phil-



adelphus and Arsinoë Philopator are in remarkable contrast to these. We may therefore infer that the title "queen" implies royal rights, which would suit the case of Cleopatra I., whose dowry was Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia; and if the limitation to royal rights be admitted, then there can be no doubt that Cleopatra I. is the queen of the coin under examination, as the only later Cleopatras before Cleopatra VI., who could then be thus styled, would be represented by the coins above conjecturally assigned to them. All these data point to Cleopatra I., and the second to the regency.

It is impossible not to take notice here of the difficulty occasioned by the occurrence of the initials of Sidon on Mr. Wigan's didrachm, and the monogram of Ptolemaïs on coins of Cleopatra. I have been accused of arranging coins in defiance of history. I will not wait to contest what is really a contradiction in terms, coins being monuments of the greatest historical weight, and thus absolutely history, quite as much so as any writings corrupted by the carelessness of ancient scribes and improved by the ingenuity of modern editors. But let me beg the reader to contrast the numismatic fact of the rule of Cleopatra I. in Phœnicia with the following passage respecting the embassies to Rome of Antiochus Epiphanes and Ptolemy Philometor at the beginning of the war for Cœle-Syria, from Polybius, an author remarkable for judgment and accuracy, and a contemporary, distinctly asserting that Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia had obeyed the Seleucidæ from the time of the battle of Panium, which was followed by the subjugation of the whole territory, afterwards granted to Ptolemy Epiphanes as the dowry of Cleopatra I.

Συνέβαυε δὲ, κρατεῖν τὸν Ἀντίοχον τῶν κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην πραγμάτων. Ἐξ οὗ γὰρ Ἀντίοχος, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ νῦν λεγο-

μένου βασιλέως, ἐνίκησε τῇ περὶ τὸ Πάνιον μάχῃ τοὺς Πτολεμαίου στρατηγούς, ἀπ' ἐκείνων τῶν χρόνων ἐπείθοντο πάντες οἱ προειρημένοι τόποι τοῖς ἐν Συρίᾳ βασιλεῦσι. (Reliq. xxviii. 1). It must be remembered that, as I have already remarked, the difficulty of reconciling the two data increases with each Cleopatra. I can only offer two conjectures: that to save appearances, Antiochus III. allowed Egyptian garrisons to be placed in the cities of Phœnicia at the time of the marriage, but succeeded by artifice in obtaining their speedy withdrawal; or that during the reign of the feeble Seleucus IV. Philopator, B.C. 187—175, Phœnicia was in part restored to Egypt. At the time of his own death, Ptolemy Epiphanes was preparing an expedition to recover the contested provinces. This intention may have been partly carried out by Cleopatra during her regency, and the occupation of the coast-towns have led to the war between Ptolemy Philometor and Antiochus Epiphanes. Antiochus, it is clear, lost no time in recovering Phœnicia, supposing it had been in part, at least, lost to his brother, for he was in Tyre in the year of Ptolemy's coronation, B.C. 174. (2 Macc. iv. 18—21.)

The mint monogram on this coin is indistinct; it is probably  $\pi$ .

## TYPE Ia.


With name of Ptolemy.

	Size.	Weight.
2. Same type, but end of long curl seen on left side of head. <i>Rev.</i> Same inscription and type . . . . .	4	69+
3. Id. <i>Rev.</i> Id. . . . .	4	62+
4. Id. <i>Rev.</i> Id., fillets not seen . . . . .	2½	32+

## TYPE II.


## PTOLEMAÏS.

5. Same type, but bust, end of long curl resting on left shoulder.

		Size.	Weight.
<i>Rev.</i>	Same inscription. Eagle, left, on thunderbolt, wings open; in front, 	8	256+
I have distinguished as belonging to a distinct type any coin differing in the type of either <i>obv.</i> or <i>rev.</i> from the type most nearly resembling it.			

6.	<i>Id.</i>	<i>Rev. Id.</i>	7	238
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## PAPHOS.

7.	<i>Id.</i>	<i>Rev. Id.</i> , but in front, 	8	218+
8.	<i>Id.</i>	<i>Rev. Id.</i>	8½	265+
9.	<i>Id.</i>	<i>Rev. Id.</i>	6½	255+
10.	<i>Id.</i>	<i>Rev. Id.</i>	7½	238+

The monograms present a slight difference of form.

## NO MINT-LETTERS.

11.	<i>Id.</i>	<i>Rev. Id.</i> , no monogram	9½	431+
12.	<i>Id.</i>	<i>Rev. Id.</i> (monogram effaced?)	8 +	257+
13.	<i>Id.</i>	<i>Rev. Id.</i> , no monogram	8	308
14.	<i>Id.</i>	<i>Rev. Id.</i> id.	8	253
15.	<i>Id.</i>	<i>Rev. Id.</i> id.	7	240+
16.	<i>Id.</i>	<i>Rev. Id.</i> id. (in front, uncertain object?)	4½ +	125+

## TYPE III

17.	Same type, but second curl longer than first, shorter than third, and none seen on left side of head			
	<i>Rev.</i>	Same inscription. Eagle, left, on thunderbolt, looking back; behind, single cornucopiæ with fillets	5½	133
18.	<i>Id.</i>	<i>Rev. Id.</i>	6½ +	130

## TYPE IV.

19.	Same type. <i>Rev.</i> Same inscription. Eagle, left, on thunderbolt, wings open			
			9½ +	496 +
20.	<i>Id.</i>	<i>Rev. Id.</i>	10 +	578 +
21.	<i>Id.</i>	<i>Rev. Id.</i>	9½	502

## TYPE IVa.

22.	<i>Id.</i> , but end of long curl resting on left shoulder			
			8 +	307

## BARBAROUS WORK.

		Size.	Weight.
23.	Bust of Types III., IV., but four long curls. <i>Rev.</i> Id. . . . .	10 +	473+
24.	Bust of Type IVa., but third curl longer than second, shorter than fourth. <i>Rev.</i> Id. On left wing are seen remains of letters of former type, $\Lambda\Gamma^{\circ}\Lambda\Lambda\text{I}^{\circ}$ ? .	9½	405
	(Restruck coin).		

## CLASS B.—WITH PORTRAIT OF PTOLEMY VII. PHILOMETOR.

## SILVER DIDRACHMS.

## TYPE I.—PAPHOS.

B.C.	Yr. of Reign.		Weight.
175-174.	7	25. Bust, right, diademed and with chlamys. <i>Rev.</i> ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. Eagle, left, on thunderbolt; thunderbolt winged. LZ—IIA.	217·6+

## TYPE II.—SALAMIS.

26.	LΞ—ΣΑ.	Beneath date . . . : beginning of inscription, never completed on die.	217·7
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B. The eagle on this coin does not resemble those on the contemporary didrachm, or later didrachms of Philometor, but is very like those of the reign of Ptolemy V. Epiphanes, especially those struck in Cyprus. The distance of time between the latest of the latter, which was struck in the twentieth year of Epiphanes (Pl. IV. No. 11), and the present coin, is only ten years. This coin is not noticed in the Table of Mints, Types, &c., of Philometor (vol. v. p. 328; *Tirage*, p. 74), as when I drew up that table I was undecided as to the attribution. I cannot suggest what it was intended to insert beneath LΞ. The dots mark the extrémities of letters, and IIA or KI, therefore, cannot be admitted. Possibly a second date was intended, but the form of the letters would suit neither a reckoning

from the accession of Epiphanes, nor one from that of Cleopatra I., as queen-consort.

		Yrs. of Reign.	
<i>Cir.</i>	<sup>B.C.</sup> 174-3—172-1.	<i>Cir.</i> 8—10.	Government of Eulæus and Lenæus, or. latterly another.

### COPPER COINS.

#### TYPE I.

	Size.	Weight.
27. Head of Jupiter Ammon, right, with horn, and wearing spiked diadem. <i>Rev.</i> ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Eagle, left, on thunderbolt; across eagle, under left wing, sceptre; in front, lotus; between eagle's legs, ΕΥΛ . . .	8½	364

C. After the death of Cleopatra, Ptolemy Philometor being still a minor, the government of Egypt and guardianship of the king was taken by Eulæus, a eunuch who was a personal attendant of Ptolemy's, and Lenæus, a Cœle-Syrian slave. It is important for the coinage to observe that they heaped up gold and silver and treasure in the palace, so that we may suppose that they could, whether they did or not, have issued coinage. ("Et quum post mortem Cleopatrar̃ Eulæus eunuchus, nutricius Philometoris, et Lenæus Ægyptum regerent, et repeterent Syriam." Hieron. ad. Daniel, c. xi. "Ὅτι οἱ ἐπίτροποι Πτολεμαίου τοῦ μείρακος Εὐλαῖος ὁ εὐνοῦχος καὶ Λήναιος ὁ Σύρος πάντα πόρον καὶ μηχανὴν ἐπενόουν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην γάζαν εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἐσώρευον . . . ὁ μὲν εὐνοῦχος . . . ὁ δὲ Κοιλοσυρίτης γεγινὼς δοῦλος. Diod. Sic. Reliq. xxx. 15, ed. Didot.) It seems that the administration of Eulæus lasted until the first advance of Antiochus Epiphanes, for Polybius states that he persuaded Ptolemy, who must here be Philometor, to escape to Samothrace, while his enemies

were still distant. (Reliq. xxviii. 17 a). This would bring us to before the close of B.C. 171. (Fynes Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.*, iii. pp. 318, 319). Ptolemy Philometor fell into the hands of Antiochus, and his brother, Euergetes II., was made king B.C. 170 (l. c. and above, p. 17). Euergetes II. was advised by Comanus and Cineas (Polyb. Reliq. xxviii. 16), whose envoys to Antiochus threw the blame of the war on Eulæus (17). The government of Eulæus may, therefore, very fairly be assigned to the interval from about B.C. 174-3 to 172-1, or the eighth to the tenth years of Ptolemy Philometor. There is no evidence to shew whether or not Lenæus remained his colleague through this period. It is, however, to be observed that there were two ministers up to its close. Livy speaks, under the consulate of P. Licinius and C. Cassius (B.C. 171), of *tutores* (xlii. 29). As to the exact function of these ministers, they combined the guardianship of the king (*ἐπίτροποι*, *tutores*) with the administration of the kingdom, for this distinctly appears in the case of the younger Sosibius and his successor Tlepolemus (Polyb. Reliq. xvi. 22), in the minority of Ptolemy Epiphanes. The office is well described by Justin, speaking of M. Æmilius Lepidus, a later minister. "Morte regis legatos Alexandrini ad Romanos misere orantes, ut tutelam pupilli susciperent. . . Mittitur et M. Lepidus in Ægyptum, qui *tutorio nomine regnum pupilli administret*." (xxx. 2, 3). I may, however, be required to shew that the name of a powerful minister might be expected on Egyptian coins. The case of the letters  $\overset{\text{TPY}}{\Phi}$  for the name of Tryphon, on tetradrachms of Antiochus VI., is a sufficient parallel, and that of  $\overset{\Omega}{\Sigma}$  on coins of Ptolemy III. and IV. may well apply to the first Sosibius. I am aware that there is a difference between

the cases of Tryphon and Eulæus, who governed for minors, and that of Sosibius under the reigns of Ptolemy III. and IV. Yet the occurrence of letters purposely arranged to distinguish them from ΣΟΤΗΡ or ΣΟΤΕΙΡΑ as a king's or city's title (on Ptolemais of Philadelphus we find beneath ΠΤ the letters ΑΣ[ΥΑΟΣ], ΞΕ[ΝΙΑ], formerly mistaken by me, vol. iv. p. 165, for a date, and ΣΟ[ΤΕΙΡΑ]) seems conclusive in favour of my explanation, more especially as the letters occur on a great range of coins, some certainly minted at different places.

		Size.	Weight.
28.	Id. . . . .	8+	344+
29.	Id. . . . .	8+	346+

## TYPE II.

30.	Id., but <i>rev.</i> varied by absence of sceptre Countermarked by Antiochus IV. Epi- phanes, probably during his first expedition, B.C. 171.	5½+	167+
31.	Id., on eagle's left leg countermark, anchor . . . . .	6½+	249+

D. The date of these countermarks may be reasonably conjectured from the following evidence. The coins of Antiochus, as king of Egypt, would of course have superseded the necessity of using current money of Philometor. These countermarked coins would, therefore, fall between the beginning of the first expedition and the issue of Antiochus's Egyptian coinage. The date of the latter event can be fixed without much hesitation, as will be soon shewn, to the second expedition, and more closely to the time when the usurper was at Memphis.

32.	Id., behind eagle, countermark, anchor .	Size. 6½+	Weight. 289
33.	Id., id.	5½	176

B.C.	Years of Reign.		
	Ptolemy VII.	Ptolemy IX.	
170-69—169-8	12—13	1—2	Usurpation of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes.

## COPPER COINS.

## TYPE I.

	Size.	Weight.
34. Head of Jupiter Serapis, right, laureate, and wearing at top of wreath plumed cap of Osiris. <i>Rev.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ. Eagle, right, on thunderbolt; thunderbolt winged .	9½	579

E. The countermarked coins of Ptolemy Philometor shew that Antiochus did not strike his Egyptian coins immediately after his invasion of Egypt. The abundance of these Egyptian coins shews that they must have been struck during a period of at least more than a year. The occasion seems indicated by Jerome, who states that when Antiochus reached Memphis he took the kingdom according to the Egyptian manner. "Porro Antiochus parvens puero et amicitias simulans ascendit Memphin, et ibi ex more Ægypti regnum accipiens," &c. (ad. Daniel, xi.) The campaign during which this event took place began B.C. 170, and the accession of Euergetes II. in that year was due to his brother's capture. There seems no doubt that Antiochus immediately after the latter event advanced to Memphis; and the statement of Jerome that he was there regularly crowned, is confirmed by the issue of an Egyptian coinage. The change from the head of Jupiter Ammon to that of Jupiter Serapis for the obverse-type of the principal copper coins is probably to be explained by the place of mintage. Though Antiochus copied an Egyptian type, he adopted one suited to Memphis; for though Jupiter Ammon was



worshipped by all the Egyptian Greeks, Serapis was revered at Memphis and Alexandria. By striking coins with his head, Antiochus could at once conciliate the Memphites and yet not displease the Alexandrians. Memphis was already in his power; Alexandria he was about to besiege. The fabric and style of all the coins is very peculiar, and wholly foreign to that of the Ptolemies. It may be noticed as connecting these coins with the little earlier didrachms of the seventh year of Ptolemy Philometor (Nos. 25, 26), that the specimen above described and others have, like those didrachms, the thunderbolt winged.

		Size.	Weight.
35.	Id., thunderbolt apparently winged . . .	$9\frac{1}{2}+$	576+
36.	Id., thunderbolt not winged . . .	10	498
37.	Id., id. . . . .	$9\frac{1}{2}$	600+
38.	Id., id. . . . .	$9\frac{1}{2}$	457

## TYPE II.

39. Bust of Cleopatra I. as Isis, right, bound with corn-wreath, having at the top disk with horns.

*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ANTIOXOY ΘΕΟΥ  
ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ. Eagle, right, on

thunderbolt . . . . . 7+ 273+

F. The hair varies in different specimens, but as these variations seem to be irregular, and not to indicate gradual changes, I have not done as I have in the case of the coins of Cleopatra I., separated the coins into types characterized by the variations.

		Size.	Weight.
40.	Id., thunderbolt winged . . . . .	$6\frac{1}{2}$	219+
41.	Id., thunderbolt apparently winged . . .	$6\frac{1}{2}+$	287
42.	Id., thunderbolt apparently winged . . .	7	259+

## TYPE III.

43. Head of Antiochus, right, wearing radiate diadem.

	Size.	Weight.
<i>Rev.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥ[Σ]. Eagle, right, on thunderbolt; thunderbolt winged. . .	5+	122+
44. <i>Id.</i> , thunderbolt not winged . . .	4½	99

	Years of Reign.		
B.C.	Ptolemy VII.	Ptolemy IX.	
170-69—165-4	12—18	1—7	Joint reign of Ptolemy VII. and Ptolemy IX.

## COPPER COIN.

## TYPE I.

45. Head of Jupiter Ammon, right, with  
horn, and wearing spiked diadem.

*Rev.* ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Eagle,  
left, on thunderbolt; across eagle,  
under left wing, sceptre; in front,  
lotus . . . . . 8½ 293+

G. This coin is a *surfrappe*; on the obverse is what appears to me to be part of the sceptre of the same type as that of the reverse. As the name of Eulæus does not appear, and the coin is probably struck on one of his, I think it may be classed to the joint reign, though I am aware that it presents neither a plural name nor what we might still more reasonably have expected, a double type, for it can scarcely be assigned to any other age. It is just possible that it may have been struck during the short reign of Ptolemy Euergetes II., before he was associated with his elder brother.

	B.C.	Yrs. of Reign.	
164-3 -146	18—36		Sole reign of Ptolemy VII. Philometor.

## SILVER DIDRACHMS.

## PAPHOS.

			Weight.
163-2	19	46. (Type I). Bust of Ptolemy, right, diademed, and with chlamys.	
		<i>Rev.</i> ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙ- ΛΕΩΣ. Eagle, left, on	

B.C.	Yrs. of Reign.		Weight.
		thunderbolt; thunderbolt	
163-2	19	winged; LIΘ—IIA . . .	218.1
"	"	47. (Type II.) Id. . . . .	218.3
162-1	20	48. (Type I.) Id., thunderbolt not visible; LK—IIA . . .	217+
161-0	21	49. (Type I.) Id., thunderbolt not winged; LKA—IA . . .	197.7
160-59	22	50. (Type I.) Id. LKB—IIA . . .	216.6
156-5	28	51. (Type Ia.) Id. LKH—IIA . . .	219
153-2	29	52. (Type I.) Id. LKO—IIA . . .	218.9
151-0	31	53. (Type Ib.) Id. LAA—IIA . . .	219.2
"	"	54. (Type Ic.) Id. LAA—IIA . . .	219
"	"	55. (Type IIa.) Id., LAA—IIA . . .	212.7
150-49	32	56. (Type I.) Id. LAB—IIA . . .	208.5
149-8	33	57. (Type I.) Id. LAT—IIA . . .	220.7
		SALAMIS.	
161-0	21	58. (Type II.) Id. LKA—ΣA . . .	213.9
160-59	22	59. (Type I.) Id. Thunderbolt not visible. LKB—ΣA . . .	215.9
150-49	32	60. (Type II.) Id. Thunderbolt not winged. LAB—ΣA; be- low date, helmet . . .	218.3
148-7	34	61. (Type II.) Id. LAA—ΣA . . .	218.4
"	"	62. (Type II.) Id. LAA—ΣA ; below date, star . . .	210.8
		CITIUM.	
162-1	20	63. (Type II.?) Id. Thunder- bolt winged; LK—KI; below date, club, with rib- bons? . . . . .	215.8
154-3	28	64. (Type I.) Id. Thunderbolt, not winged; LKH—KI . . .	217.6
153-2	29	65. (Type Id.) Id. LKΘ—KI . . .	215.8
151-0	31	66. (Type Ib.) Id. LAA—KI . . .	217.8
149-8	33	67. (Type II.) Id. LAT—KI; below date, helmet . . .	218.5
"	"	68. (Type II.) Id. LAT—KI; same symbol . . . . .	213.8
"	"	69. (Type II.) Id. LAT—KI; below date, wheat-stalk with ear . . . . .	217.8
148-7	34	70. (Type II.) Id. LAA—KI; below date, aplustre . . .	219.2

## PTOLEMAÏS, GAZA ? AND ANOTHER MINT ?

B.C.	Yrs. of Reign.		Weight.
149-8	33	71. Head of Ptolemy, right, diademed. <i>Rev.</i> ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ [ΒΑΣΙΛΑ]- ΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ.	
146	36	Eagle, left, on winged thunderbolt; behind eagle, corn-stalk with ear; between eagle and thunderbolt, ΙΑ ΙΑ; in field, right, $\overline{\text{m}}$ (Pl. VII., No. 12.) Cast from Bibliothèque Impériale.	

H. It may be added to the observations already made on this coin (vol. v. p. 330; *Tirage*, p. 76) that the royal style, as well as the head, is that of a king of Syria. M. Six has pointed out to me that the object behind the eagle is a corn-stalk, and also that I have been anticipated by M. F. Lenormant in the question of the date of issue of this coin (*Rev. Num.* 1854, pp. 183-5; *Monnaies des Lagides*, pp. 87-89).

## COPPER COIN.

B.C.	Yrs. of Reign.		Size.	Weight.
149-8	33	72. Head of Ptolemy, right, diademed; in front, counter-mark, $\overline{\text{P}}$		
146	36	<i>Rev.</i> ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣ- [ΙΛΕΩΣ]. Eagle, left, on thunderbolt, wings open; in front, uncertain symbol.	4+	80

I. The reverse of this coin is remarkably like that of a coin of Cleopatra I., No. 16, above; it may, therefore, be conjectured that the coinage with her head was continued by her son. This supposition would not, however, explain the regular issue of her coins at Ptolemaïs, for which a longer period is required than that to which this coin must be limited (B.C. 148—146). The alternative that this coin was struck under Cleopatra's regency I cannot admit, because it bears a head, not a bust, and the arguments for the date based on this fact in the case of the didrachm No. 71 (vol. v. p. 330) equally apply to it.

## A MINT OF CYPRUS?

		COPPER COINS.			
B.C.	Yr. of Reign.			Size.	Weight.
155-4	27	73. Head of Jupiter Ammon, right, horned and diadem- ed; diadem spiked?			
		<i>Rev.</i> ΠΤΟΑΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙ- [ΛΕΩΣ]. Eagle, left, on thunderbolt (thunderbolt not visible); in front, LKZ; below date, lotus . . .		5½	127+

J. I am disposed to assign these dated coins (Nos. 73—79) to a mint of Cyprus, on account of the similarity of their reverses to those of the didrachms of Cyprus. Their ascription to Ptolemy VII. cannot be doubted, if the style of reverses and the dates occurring on them are compared with the style and dates of the didrachms.

B.C.	Yr. of Reign.			Size.	Weight.
154-3	28?	74. Id. LKP? above date, star.		5½	115+
149-8	33	75. Id. ΛΑΓ; below date, lotus.		6+	198
"	"	76. Id. ΛΑΓ; b. d., lotus . .		5½+	132+
148-7	34	77. Id. Thunderbolt winged? ΛΑΔ; b. d., lotus . . .		6	151+
"	"	78. Id. Thunderbolt not winged? ΛΑΔ; b. d., lotus . . .		6+	159
"	"	79. Id. Thunderbolt winged; ΛΑΔ; b. d., uncertain symbol . . . . .		6½+	200+
		80. Head of Jupiter Ammon, right, horned and diadem- <i>Rev.</i> ΠΤΟΑΕΜΑΙ[ΟΥ ΒΑΣΙ- ΛΕΩΣ]. Eagle, left, on thunderbolt; in front, lotus . . . . .		2½+	32
		81. Id.; in front, lotus . . .		2½	35+

REGINALD STUART POOLE.

NOTE.—The measures of these coins are according to Mionnet's scale; the weights are to 1/10 of a grain in the case of silver money; in that of copper I have not marked 1/10 above or below: any more I have distinguished by + the next number of grains below.

## II.

THOUGHTS ABOUT THE COINAGE OF THE  
ACHAÏAN LEAGUE.

MR. FREEMAN says the Achaïan League was essentially a national government, and he proves this to have been the case very clearly. The essence of its existence was centralisation, in so far as centralisation could be made conformable at the time with the city government of the federal states.

Polybius (ii. 37) says that the laws, weights, measures, and money were made uniform. I shall examine the signification of this statement with reference to the existing coinage of the Achaïan League, with which it appears to be at variance. The federal money supplies us with some interesting evidence concerning the action of the federal and city administration in maintaining this uniformity.

Mr. Leicester Warren has collected all our numismatic knowledge of the subject in two valuable memoirs: "An Essay on Greek Federal Coinage," which appeared as a supplement to the first volume of Mr. Freeman's great work, "The History of Federal Governments," and "The Copper Coinage of the Achaïan League," communicated to the Numismatic Society of London. At page 45 of his essay he says, "One silver type and one copper type was used in common by all the members of the confederation." It seems to me that several interesting questions,

suggested by the existing coins of the League, still require to be answered. I shall state those that occur to me, and offer some conjectures in reply to them without attempting to give decisive answers. Perhaps I fancy I am treating of a new subject when the questions have been already answered in a satisfactory manner, for my means of knowledge are very limited.

1. Are the silver coins of the League minted on the standard of the Athenian or Macedonian coinage as tetrobols, or on the Aeginetan or Sicynian as hemidrachms?

2. Why did the League coin no federal money of the larger denominations then in general circulation over all Greece—drachmas, didrachmas, and tetradrachmas?

3. What was the object of the letters, monograms, and city symbols on the silver coins with reference to the League?

4. Was the federal copper coin a chalcos?

5. What was the federal object in making each city impress its name on its copper coinage?

The monetary circulation throughout the Peloponnesus, before and during the Achaean League, consisted of didrachmas of Aegina, Sicyon, and Corinth, and tetradrachms of Athens and Alexander the Great. Besides these, drachmas and hemidrachms of various cities are also found, worn with use, in considerable quantities in buried hoards, mixed with silver of the League.

I give here a list of the weights of the best preserved coins of the League, and of the earlier money in general circulation at the time, from Colonel Leake's "*Numismata Hellenica*," and my own small collection, in order to render my observations more intelligible, and exhibit the grounds of my conjectures:—

## COINS OF THE LEAGUE.

No. of pieces.	Weight in grs. troy.	
	42·9	Monogram only. Leake. This coin gives as a hemidrachm an obol of 14·3, and as a tetrobolon, 10·7 grs. troy. I have weighed another only 41 grs.
	41	With lyre, Megara. G. F.
3	40	2 Elis and 1 Dyme. G. F.
	39·2	Dyme. Leake.
3	39	1 Dyme, 2 Sicyon with dove. G. F.
15	38	Various. 6 Leake, 9 G. F.
25	37	" 5 " 20 "
23	36	" 5 " 18 "
10	35 to 32	All in fine preservation, with names.
	34·2	Aegium, with Aristodamos. Leake.
	36+	" and (32 well preserved). G. F.
30	33·5	Elis, with ΚΑΛΙΠΠΟΥ. 2 coins. G. F.
	30	" ΦΙΛΟΜΕΝΙΟΣ. G. F.

letters with  
points.  
(F.A.) &c.

This last is in fine preservation, and may be compared with ΔΙΟΜΕΝΙΟΣ in British Museum. Warren, "Copper Coinage," p. 19.

The pointed letters point to the date vaguely.

## · PRINCIPAL COINS CURRENT DURING LEAGUE.

## ÆGINA.

Weight.	
186	Didrachm, with land tortoise and letters. Leake.
86	Drachm, standard weight, according to Leake.
44	Hemidrachm, very fine, without letters. G. F.
14·2	Obolos. Æ. 1. Leake.
14·3	Obolos and 13 fine preservation. G. F.
10	Æ. 1½. A large, well-preserved obolos. G. F. <i>Obv.</i> Tortoise A. <i>Rev.</i> Square of 5 compartments, Φ Π, evidently more recent than others. Time of League (?)

## SICYON.

186	Didrachm. Time of Alexander. Leake.
86·9	Drachm. Leake.
86	Drachm. G. F.
44	Triobolon. Leake.
13·5	Obolos. Leake.



## PHILIP II. OF MACEDON.

Weight.

220 Piece of twenty obols. Leake.

219 Ditto, with mint mark of Pella. G. F.

40·8, 39·5, and 38. Pieces called triobols of the Aeginetan, but called by Friedländer tetrobols of the Athenian standard. Weighed by me at the University of Athens.

40·9 Leake.

N.B. These are with full-sized horsemen.

## CORINTH.

132 Didrachm (128 to 134. G. F.) Common.

43·4 Tetrobolon. Leake.

42 Three of this weight. G. F.

12+ and 13+ Leake and G. F. These cannot be obols : tenths of didrachm ?

## ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

272 Original standard of tetradrachm.

255 Tetradrachm minted at Sicyon, with symbol, a boy holding a net over his head, hanging down his back, as on the  $\mathcal{A}$ . of Sicyon. Leake calls this object a long chain. The reverse is in very fine preservation, but not the obverse. From monogram, which appears on the coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes, this coin may be of that period.

252 Tetradrachm minted at Corinth. Leake.

## ATHENS.

64 to 60 Ten drachms of the late period, with names of magistrates.

59 to 57 Nine similar.

56 to 51 Eight in inferior preservation. In my collection.

51 and 49 Pentobols. Standard is 56.

42 and 39 Tetrobols. Standard is 45.

These coins are much worn. Leake quotes Pollux, ix. 63 :—  
 “ τὸ μὲν τετρώβολον ἐν τῇ χρήτῃ τέτριπται.”

1. Are the silver coins of the League minted on the Macedonian or Aeginetan standard ?

I think that the Achaïan standard was accurately arranged to make these coins conform to the state of both standards

after the time of Alexander; and that they were, perhaps, imitated from the tetrobols of Philip II. of Macedon, which were in all probability minted expressly to pay his Grecian auxiliaries. I assume that Colonel Leake's coin, with the monogram of Achaïa alone, gives the standard weight as 43 grs. troy. Six would be equal to a tetradrachm of 258 grs. As the tetradrachms of Alexander were originally coined on the Attic standard, this is considerably below the proper weight. But it is the average weight of later Athenian, and of many well-preserved Macedonian tetradrachms, and it agrees with my tetradrachm of Alexander, with the mint-mark of Sicyon, of which, though the reverse is very fine, the obverse is imperfect. The obolos of this standard would be 10·75 grs. The pieces of 20 obols of Philip II. would give a tetrobol of 44 grs. and an obol of 11 grs. Leake gives a piece of 20 obols of the weight of 222·8, which would give a tetradrachm of 267·36. The Athenian standard during the Peloponnesian war was 270. But Leake gives a tetradrachm of Alexander weighing 271·8. I should suspect that oxidation had increased the weight of this piece with a crust of extraneous matter. And if we call the League coin a hemidrachm (triobolon), the tetradrachm would contain 18 obols, and the obol would weigh 14·333 &c., the proportion being 4 to 3.

At Corinth they might be called tetrobols, and at Sicyon triobols. They must have been in general use as change in both cities, which, though they were only fifteen miles apart, and both used a didrachm as their standard coin, minted these didrachms of a weight that prevented their being convertible into obols on either side without a fraction. This fact supplies us with one reason why the Macedonian tetradrachm suffered a slight modification, and

became common over all Greece, and was minted both at Corinth and Sicyon.

I conjecture that the size of the League silver coin was determined by the fact that it represented the daily pay of an infantry soldier. (See Leake.) *τετρωβολίειν*, said the Athenian, when he spoke with contempt of being a soldier. Both Thucydides (v. 47) and Xenophon (Hell. v. 2, 22) mention that in the times before the League the pay was three Aeginetan obols.

I cannot decide whether Polybius regarded the League coins as tetrobols or hemidrachms. He says (vi. 39, 12) that the daily pay of a Roman soldier was two obols. We know it was five Asses, and the weight of a denarius of the period cannot have been less than 64 grs. troy. I possess one (gens Publicia) of that weight. Junia, 63·5; Calpurnia, Julia, Mamilia, and Pomponia, each 62. This gives 32 grains of silver as the equivalent of the Roman pay. The standard weight of an Aeginetan obolos, put at 14·5, only gives 29 grains of Greek silver, which is a great but perhaps intelligible loss on the exchange of Roman copper for Greek silver coin. But if we suppose Polybius to refer to the Macedonian standard, the obolos being only 10·75, the pay of a Roman soldier would only be equal to 21·5 grs. of Greek silver, when we know that it was equivalent to at least 32 grs. of Roman silver. This is quite inadmissible.

I find it also impossible to reconcile another passage of Polybius with the foregoing, and suspect he must have been referring to different periods without taking into account the great changes that took place in the value of money. He tells us (ii. 15, 6) that an As was equal to half an obolos. Now if we reckon the obolos at 14·5, this makes the pay of a Roman soldier equivalent to

36·25 grs. of silver, and the Roman denarius ought to have weighed 72·5. But if we reckon the obolos at 10·75, the five Asses are equivalent to 26·750, and the Roman denarius to only 53·5.

I cannot see my way in this dilemma.

2. Why did the League coin no federal money of the larger denominations then in general circulation over all Greece?

Mr. Freeman, I think, gives us data for replying that the League government only did what circumstances required it to do in the way of centralisation. It issued a coin to serve as a standard, and coined money to serve as a common medium of exchange, and meet its own payments in the most convenient way. The federal treasury was filled by requisitions on the different cities, and the expenditure of the League was confined to certain objects. The federal standard would be that in which accounts were kept. The League required money to pay garrisons and mercenary troops. Each city also furnished its contingent of troops, which the existing coinage indicates that it paid with the money of its local mint. The difference in the intrinsic value of coins issued from the city mints proves that all large payments to foreign states or merchants, or to hired troops, must have been made in larger coin, and the exchange calculated on the League standard. Each city must have had its requisition fixed by that standard. As the coins of the different cities vary in weight greatly, there can be no doubt that to a certain degree they served merely as representatives of value, and it is quite possible that the large payments of the cities were habitually made in didrachms and tetradrachms, or in Macedonian gold.

3. What was the object of the letters, monograms, and city symbols on the silver coins?

As there was a League standard, and all the coins of the cities which exist are below this standard, I suppose that the city governments were allowed to make a profit by issuing these depreciated coins,<sup>1</sup> which were kept in circulation as change by the credit of the League. The letters, monograms, and city symbols were probably placed on the coins by federal order, to enable the central treasury and the local treasuries of the cities to demand payment according to the League standard from any city which issued them in too great quantity. It was the means adopted for enforcing cash payments. How far it was available to the citizens of the state itself may be a question. Some such supposition seems necessary in order to give proper significance to the complication of signs and symbols on the silver money of the League.

It still seems strange that the government of the League should allow cities and magistrates to issue coins with the federal sanction, varying so much in value, not only as those of different cities, but even as those of the same city. And the history of the League causes a doubt whether the depreciation of the League money did not arise from a want of financial morality more than of financial knowledge. Polybius may have remembered the evil consequences which resulted from the issue of coins which, like the coin of Philomenios of Elis, weighed only 30 instead of 43 grs., when he penned his memorable condemnation of Greek fiscal dishonesty (vi. 56, 13). A comparison of the Roman family denarii, which vary in weight from 54 to 64 grains, would hardly warrant the

(1) Perhaps the cities of the League were impoverished and depopulated by this absorption of the wealth of the people, just as the Roman empire and the Ottoman. I believe this was the case.

eulogy which Polybius makes of Roman honesty. The great Roman families seem to have used their privilege of coining money for their own profit very much in the same way as the members of the Achaïan League. The Roman emperors inherited the fiscal vices of the Roman aristocracy, and marred the career of ancient civilisation by their monetary frauds. The lesson taught by the coinage of nations, in which governments have recorded their own condemnation, has been too much neglected by historians.

The importance of preserving a monetary standard inviolate was well understood both by the Greeks and Romans, but their governments were constantly spending more money than they could obtain either honestly or by force. They had, therefore, recourse to fraud. The Athenian democracy and the Byzantine autocracy are the great exceptions. For centuries they kept their monetary reputation in high esteem over the whole of the ancient world, and this circumstance probably exercised considerable influence in prolonging the existence of two governments which had so many defects and weaknesses. Let us contrast the steady accuracy of the Athenian mint with the sliding scale of the Achaïan coinage. During five centuries the only variation at Athens appears to have been the introduction of a small seigniorage. For a long period not only the drachma, but also nine different coins, fractions of the drachma, were struck in silver, preserving with perfect accuracy their full intrinsic value. This was evidently done to prevent the depreciation of the smallest currency, whether in copper or lead. I possess twelve hemiobols whose united weight is 63 grains troy. The accuracy of the Athenian mints gives us a measure of the profits of the Achaïan cities or moneyers, whose names

are hidden in the monograms and initials which puzzle numismatists.

The ancient world was deeply impressed with esteem for the good faith of the Attic mint. The Romans exacted payment in silver not below the Attic standard. Polybius, xxii. 15, 8; and Xen. Hell., ii. 4, 43, says:—*τοῖς ὄρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ Δῆμος*.

4. Was the federal copper coin a Chalcus?

I believe this must be answered in the affirmative with reference to the pieces bearing the names of federal cities. But I am not aware that there are any data for determining the denomination of the smaller copper coins which have a head of Jupiter on the obverse, and on the reverse only the monogram of the League. These may have been pieces of half a chalcus, a fraction much wanted.

5. What was the federal object in making each city impress its name on the copper money it put in circulation?

Many of the city coins are of yellow brass, and many are of pure copper. This difference proves that, like most copper money, they were minted as representatives of value, and not at their intrinsic value, like the Roman As for a long period. The object of placing the name of the city on the coin was, therefore, to prevent over-issues by any particular city. Some check of this kind was absolutely necessary to prevent cities like Mantinea, Megara, and Megalopolis from being inundated with coins of such places as Elisphasia, Pagæ, and Dipaia. The name of the city gave each local treasury and every foreign money-changer the power of exacting payment in silver of the League standard for any great accumulation of copper. This power was absolutely necessary in order to keep the copper coinage in circulation at its nominal value, and it


was necessary that the name of each city should be marked on the coin it put in circulation, in order to make its responsibility effective.

In connection with the copper coinage of Greece at this period, I may mention that the large Lacedæmonian coins, *Æ*<sup>9</sup> Heads of Dioscuri, *Rev.* AA in wreath,—that in my possession weighs 513 grains troy,—appear to have been coined as representatives of the Roman As—perhaps to pay Roman troops who came into the Peloponnesus to assist Sparta, and who were habituated to handle larger coins than the diminutive chalcus of the Greek.

SUPPLEMENT TO MR. WARREN'S CATALOGUE OF THE COPPER  
COINAGE OF THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE.

Aegium. The coin of the University of Athens, which is beautifully preserved, reads from the outside thus: ΚΒΙΘ ΩΝ  
Can this be the same as Leake's ΚΡΙΘΩΝ, for ΜΟΚΡΙΩ?

Pellene. Three coins, G. F.: two thick, ΑΡΧΕΜ ΧΙ; one, ΘΑΝΙΙΙΙΙ. Professor Comnos, two with ΑΡΧΕΜ.

Sicyon. Three coins, G. F.: monogram ; one twice struck, but with every letter distinct; a fine coin. Mr. Comnos, two.

Sicyon. Professor Comnos: one, ΝΑ; another very fine, Ν. *Rev.*, ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΣΙΚΥΩΝΙΩΝ.

Corinth. University of Athens: fine; ΧΑΙΠΕΑΣ, ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΟΡΙΝΘ.

Ceryneia. University and Mr. Comnos. *Obv.*, Α. *Rev.*, ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΡΥΝΕΩΝ; both fine.

Megara. A coin brought to me in a lot which I was unwilling to purchase.

Epidaurus. University; fine. *Obv.*, ΑΧΑΙΩΝ. *Rev.*, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΛΑΣ ΕΠΙΔΑΥΡΕΩ.

Heræa. University: fine. *Obv.*, ΘΕΟΞΕΝΟΣ, distinctly.

Cleone. *Obv.*, ΑΓΑΙΟΣ. *Rev.*, as engraved.

Pheneus. University; letters in points; fine. *Obv.*, ΜΝΑΣΙ ΛΑΟΣ, in two lines. *Rev.*, as engraved.



Argos. Professor Comnos. *Obv.*, ΑΡΤΤ. *Rev.*, ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΦΑΗΝΟΣ.

Argos. G. F.: ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΡΤΕΙΩΝ, with ΩΓ below arm.

Phlius. G. F. *Obv.*, ΠΑΣΩΝ. *Rev.*, ΑΧΑΙ, to edge ΑΣΙΩΝ.

Tegea. University. *Obv.*, ΚΑΕΑΡ ΤΟΧ. *Rev.*, ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΤΕΤΕΑΤΑΝ. G. F. (Professor Comnos, ΤΕΤΕΑ). *Obv.*, ΤΙ-Κ. *Rev.*, Professor Comnos, ΦΙ.

Pagæ. University; fine. *Obv.*, ΧΑΡΜΙΑΑΣ, as engraved.



Phigalia. University, and two, G. F. *Obv.*, ΚΑΕΟΔΙΚΟΣ, as engraved, University. ΚΑΕΟΔΙ the two of G. F.

ΣΟΧ

Gortys. University of Athens; fine. *Obv.*, ΝΙΚΟΣ, reading across Jupiter, ΤΡΑ ΤΟΣ. Also Professor Comnos. *Rev.*, ΑΚΑΙΩΝ ΚΟΡΤΥΝΙΩΝ, the Κ not small.

Methydrium. University; fine. *Obv.*, ΑΝΑΡΕ ΑΣ. *Rev.*, ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΜΕΘΥΔΡΙΕΩΝ.

Cleitor. University; fine. *Obv.*, ΝΙΚΙΑΣ, monogram effaced. *Rev.*, ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΛΕΙΤΟΡΙΩΝ.

Æ 3. University of Athens; Professor Comnos: Head of Jupiter. *Rev.*,  in wreath; Æ 2-3. Two, G. F.: , in wreath.

With regard to silver coins with city symbols. The Pegasus of Corinth and the caduceus ascribed to Eva appear to be the rarest. I have only one of Corinth, none of Eva, two of Epidaurus with serpent, and two with the other symbol like a sheep-bell, three Argos with wolf's head, four Sicyon with dove, two Kaphya with bust of Pallas, three Megara with lyre, and three Lacedæmon with bonnets of Dioscuri.

I do not find that the coins with symbols vary less than those without, if they be evidently of a different coinage.

My very light coin of Elis, with ΦΙΛΟΜΕΝΙΟΣ, is beautifully preserved, and deserves, therefore, to be compared with ΔΙΟΜΕΝΙΟΣ of the British Museum.

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Æ	„	Elis. Mionnet			
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	„	Tegea		W	
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	ΠΟΛΥΜΗΡΗΣ	Thisoa			S
	ΠΟΛΥΠ	?	F		
	ΣΥΛΙΚΟΣ	Aleia	A	W	
	ΤΙΑΚΩΝ	Tegea		W	
	ΤΙΜΟΚΡΑΤΗ	Asine		W	
	ΥΣΙΜΑ	Alipheira		W	

ΦΑΗΝΟΣ	{ Argos	A	
	{ Sicyon		S
Æ ΦΙΛΟΜΕΝΙΟΣ	Elis	F	
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ΧΑΡΜΙΛΛΑΣ	Pagæ		W
ΧΙΝΑΣΕΑΣ	Tegea. Mionnet		

S stand sfor Sestini.

W „ Warren.

A „ University of Athens.

F „ Finlay.

GEORGE FINLAY.

## III.

## COINS OF THE TWO REVOLTS OF THE JEWS.

THE increased interest that has been taken in Jewish numismatics since the publication of my work on the "Jewish Coinage," not only in England, but in all parts of the Continent, has given rise to many new suggestions and alterations in this branch of the science by several learned numismatists. The late lamented Professor Cavedoni, even up to the time of his death, was working assiduously on the subject;<sup>1</sup> Dr. C. L. Grotefend of Hanover, has recently contributed to its literature;<sup>2</sup> Dr. Daniel Schimko, one of the earliest writers after Bayer on Biblical numismatics,<sup>3</sup> is again, I believe, preparing some observations on the various questions that have now

<sup>1</sup> *Le principali Questioni riguardanti la Numismatica Giudaica definitivamente decise*, published in the 4th vol. of the 2nd series of the *Opusculi Religiosi Letterari e Morali*, Modena. Cavedoni lived to receive my "Reply to M. de Saulcy," and wrote to me a very kind letter after he had read it. I am not aware whether any notes have been discovered amongst his papers for a new article on the subject.

<sup>2</sup> See *Num. Chron.*, N. S., vol. v. p. 342.

<sup>3</sup> *De nummis Biblicis*, Part I., 1835, Part II., 1838, 4to. Vindob. I have been unable to see or consult either of these articles, as there is no copy of them in the library of the British Museum. A copy of Part II. exists in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

arisen, while even M. de Saulcy has been compelled to reconsider his classifications, how erroneously, in parts, it is not necessary for me here to speak.<sup>4</sup> The classification of the earlier portion of the coins of the Jews, that is to say, from the time of Simon Maccabæus, B.C. 143, to that of the First Revolt under Nero, A.D. 66, seems now to be pretty well established, and to have received an almost universal assent;<sup>5</sup> that of the later portion, that is to say, of the period of the two revolts of the Jews, is likely for some time yet to be a subject for study and discussion. The first numismatist who has ventured to attack the attributions of Dr. Levy of Breslau is M. de Saulcy, a *résumé* of whose views has been already given by me in the *Numismatic Chronicle*,<sup>6</sup> with the opinion that most of them were not tenable, in which I have been ably supported by Dr. Levy.<sup>7</sup> Another numismatist has now ventured into the field, and it is to his suggestions and classification that I would now wish to call the special attention of my readers. For some time past the Rev. Padre Raffaele Garrucci, of the Collegio Romano at Rome, has been devoting himself to the study of the later coinage of the Jews, and has never failed to profit by the appearance of new works, so as to improve the arrangement of this important branch of numismatics. It is gratifying to myself to read the terms in which he has expressed his opinion of my book. He says,<sup>8</sup> "One can therefore imagine how justly I valued the new treatise which we owe to Mr. Madden. He can deservedly boast of having

<sup>4</sup> See *Num. Chron.*, vol. v. p. 191.

<sup>5</sup> *Num. Chron.* l. c.

<sup>6</sup> *Num. Chron.* l. c.      <sup>7</sup> *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. v. p. 345.

<sup>8</sup> *Dissertazioni Archeologiche di vario Argomento*, by Raffaele Garrucci d. C. d. G., vol. ii. p. 31. Rome, 1865.

given us a book in which former opinions are discussed, whilst new observations and new monuments are brought to light. Cavedoni thought, with me, that this was a work of its kind complete and perfect." The result of his studies I now propose to lay before English readers, with such remarks of my own as the arguments may require.

Before, however, entering upon the new classification proposed by Garrucci, I think it will be advisable, as well as interesting, to give a short epitome of the history of the period, in order that those who have not read the account in my volume, should be able clearly to understand the several difficulties that a classification of these coins presents.

The first person who may be said to have actually raised the signal of revolt was Eleazar, son of Ananias,<sup>9</sup> who refused to offer sacrifices for the welfare of the Roman Empire, and massacring the Roman garrison, remained master of Jerusalem for some time.<sup>10</sup> His principal act after this was the war he waged against Menahem, the youngest son of Judas of Galilee, whom he eventually defeated and killed. After the defeat of Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, by the Jews, in A.D. 66, Eleazar was sent, with others, to take the government of Idumæa, and nothing more is known of him.<sup>11</sup> In his place arose Eleazar, son of Simon, who had already distinguished himself among the Zealots, especially when he returned to Jerusalem with a great part of the treasures

<sup>9</sup> This Ananias is the high-priest before whom St. Paul was tried, and of whom he said, "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall." (Acts, xxiii. 3.)

<sup>10</sup> Joseph., *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 17, 2.

<sup>11</sup> Joseph., *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 20, 4.

taken from Cestius and the Romans. Yet, being of a tyrannical spirit, the office of governor of the city was not given to him, the post being assigned to "Joseph, the son of Gorion,"<sup>12</sup> and Ananus, the high-priest. Having, however, in his possession a great portion of the public treasures, besides the spoil accumulated from the defeats of the Romans, and using subtle tricks, the people were circumvented, and submitted themselves to him in all public affairs.<sup>13</sup> Besides Eleazar, son of Simon, there arose John of Gischala, the rival of Josephus, and Simon, son of Gioras, the latter of whom had also signalled himself in the overthrow of the Romans under Cestius Gallus. He appears to have been banished from Jerusalem, and took up his abode in Acrabattine, then governed by John, son of Ananias; here he was attacked by the high-priest Ananus, and leaguings himself with the *Sicarii*, occupied the fortress of Masada.<sup>14</sup> John of Gischala, on the contrary, was in frequent correspondence with the Zealots, who continued to oppress the people. At last, thoroughly roused by the exhortations of "Gorion, the son of Joseph,"<sup>15</sup> Simeon, the son of Gamaliel, Jesus, son of Gamala, and Ananus, son of Ananus, they consented to be led in battle against them.<sup>16</sup> The result was a civil war in the city, and the Zealots, killing Ananus, against whom their animosity was specially directed, remained masters of the city. The Simeon, son of Gamaliel, here mentioned, was president of the Jewish Sanhedrim. He was a friend of John of Gischala, and had attempted,

<sup>12</sup> Joseph., *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 20, 3; elsewhere (iv. 3, 9) "Gorion son of Joseph."

<sup>13</sup> Joseph., *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 20, 3.

<sup>14</sup> Joseph., *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 22, 2.

<sup>15</sup> See note 12. <sup>16</sup> Joseph., *Bell. Jud.*, iv. 3, 9.



though unsuccessfully, to persuade Ananus and Jesus, son of Gamala, to get rid of Josephus.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless Josephus speaks of him "as excelling others in the accurate knowledge of the laws of their country," and holds him up as "a man of great wisdom and reason, and capable of restoring public affairs by his prudence, when they were in an ill-posture."<sup>18</sup> To return to Simon, son of Gioras, who we last spoke of as having taken up his abode with the *Sicarii* at Masada. He collected a considerable army, and encamping before its walls, made war upon the city from without, as John of Gischala from within. It is not known whether he entered Jerusalem during the whole of the second year, but we do know for certain that he entered it after the 25th of April, in the third year of the Jewish war,<sup>19</sup> at the invitation of the Idumæans. In the city there were now three great factions, headed respectively by Eleazar, son of Simon, John of Gischala, and Simon, son of Gioras. Eleazar still held his position in the Temple, while John of Gischala remained in the Tower of Antonia. Simon, whose head-quarters were in the Tower Phasaelus, held the district north of the Temple. John at last obtained possession of the Temple by stratagem, and assassinating Eleazar, reduced the factions to two. The remainder of the history of this period need not be here further alluded to.

It may be as well to mention that other Eleazars and Simons of more or less note were among those who took part in this Revolt.

<sup>17</sup> Joseph., *Vit.*, sect. 38.

<sup>18</sup> Joseph., *Vit.* l. c.

<sup>19</sup> Σίμων μὲν οὕτως ἐνιαυτῷ τρίτῳ τοῦ πολέμου Ξανθικῷ μηνὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο.—Joseph., *Bell. Jud.* iv. 9, 12.

Eleazar, nephew of Simon.<sup>20</sup>

Eleazar, companion of Simon, son of Gioras.<sup>21</sup>

Eleazar, son of Jarius, kin to Menahem, and tyrant of Masada after his death.<sup>22</sup>

Eleazar, son of Sameas, a worthy Jew, who showed great courage against the Romans.<sup>23</sup>

Simon, son of Ananias, sent as ambassador to Florus.<sup>24</sup>

Simon, son of Cathlas, commander of the Idumæans.<sup>25</sup>

Simon, son of Saul.<sup>26</sup>

Simon, son of Ezron.<sup>27</sup>

Simon, son of Arinus.<sup>28</sup>

Having thus given a brief account of the history, we will now pass on to the coins.

De Sauley and Cavedoni assigned to the revolt under Nero only two small brass coins of the years two and three (Madden, p. 180, Nos. 1 and 2; De Sauley, pl. x., Nos. 1, 2).

De Vogüé discovered the coins of an Eleazar the Priest, and assigned them to Eleazar, son of Ananias (Madden, p. 162, *seq.*; De Vogüé, *Rev. Num.*, 1860, p. 280, *seq.*, pl. xiii., Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4).

It was left for Dr. Levy, of Breslau, to re-model the period; and he attributed coins to Eleazar, son of Ananias; Simon, son of Gioras; Simon Nasi, son of Gamaliel; and Ananus (?). All coins not *re-struck* were assigned by him to the first revolt, the remainder were given to Bar-cohab. (For this classification, and a complete statement of reasons for it, see Madden, p. 161, *seq.*)

<sup>20</sup> Joseph., *Bell. Jud.*, vi. 4, 1.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 17, 9.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 17, 4.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 18, 4.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 6, 1.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, iv. 9, 5.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. 7, 21.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, iv. 4, 4.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 1, 1.

The chief difficulties to this latter classification are as follows:—

1. To which Eleazar—either Eleazar, son of Ananias, or Eleazar, son of Simon—shall the coins with the legend אלעזר הכהן be assigned?

2. A coin exists with the name of *Eleazar* on one side, and *Simon* on the other. To which Simon shall this be given?

3. Eleazar, son of Simon, and Simon, son of Gioras, were never at peace with each other, as far as we know from history.

4. Simon, son of Gioras, did not enter Jerusalem till the *third* year, and the coins are of the *first* and *second*, or without the mark of a year.

5. Too many coins are given to the First Revolt, and only the re-struck ones left for the Second. And

6. The hypotheses of De Saulcy respecting the reproduction of types, design, fabric, and style sixty-five years after the first epoch in which they are supposed to have been issued, and the re-assignment by him of the small copper coins of the years two and three to the First Revolt *only*, all other coins without exception, including those of Eleazar, being given to the Second Revolt, that of Bar-cohab. (See *Num. Chron.*, vol. v. p. 210, *seq.*)

I will now lay before my readers the classification of the coins assigned by the Padre Garrucci to the First Revolt.

His arrangement of the two Revolts are as follow:—

A. Coins of the First Revolt have the legend לנאֵלֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל<sup>29</sup>, דְּרוֹת צִיִּן, and לנאֵלֶת צִיִּן (?), and the year written at length, שְׁנַת אֲרֵבַע (?), שְׁנַת שְׁלֹשׁ, שְׁנַת שְׁתַּיִם, שְׁנַת אֶחָד.

<sup>29</sup> It is on account of the shekels of the first year having this legend that Levy gave them to Eleazar rather than to Simon, son of Gioras, or to Simon Bar-cohab. (Madden, p. 165, *note* 9.)

B. Coins of the Second Revolt have the legend לחרות for the first year and no date, and for the second ש"ב, לחרות ישראל, and the dates always in cipher, ב".

### A. REVOLT OF ELEAZAR.

1. *Obv.*—אל[ע] הכהן "Eleazar the Priest." Vase; in *field*, to right, a palm-branch.

*Rev.*—[ש]מ[ע]ו *Simon* within a wreath. (Madden, p. 162, No. 2; De Sauley, pl. xii. No. 7.) *Æ*.

2. *Obv.*—אלעזר הכהן "Eleazar the Priest." Vase; in *field*, to right, a palm-branch.

*Rev.*—[אל] שנת אחת לנאלת ישראל "First year of the redemption of Israel." Cluster of grapes. (Madden, p. 162, No. 1; De Vogüé, *Rev. Num.*, 1860, pl. xiii. No. 1.) *Æ*.

3. *Obv.*—לא רוע—  
כה וה "Eleazar the Priest," written backwards in two lines on either side of a palm-tree.

*Rev.*—[אל] שנת אחת לנאלת ישראל "First year of the redemption of Israel." Cluster of grapes. (Madden, p. 164, No. 3; De Vogüé, *Rev. Num.*, 1860, pl. xiii. Nos. 3, 4.) *Æ*.

4. *Obv.*—[ע]—[ל]  
כה (פ?)—[וה] "Eleazar the Priest," written backwards in two lines on either side of the palm-branch.

*Rev.*—Legend and type same as No. 3. (Madden, p. 182.)<sup>30</sup> *Æ*.

5. *Obv.*—ירושלם *Jerusalem*. A tetrastyle temple.

*Rev.*—שנת אחת לנאלת ישראל "First year of the redemption of Israel." *Ethrog* and *lulab*.<sup>31</sup> (Madden, p. 164; De Sauley, pl. xi., No. 1.) *Æ*.

<sup>30</sup> A copper coin of Eleazar the priest, in the cabinet of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, instead of reading backwards as the other coins do, reads the usual way. The letters are, however, placed in confusion over the field. For its description and engraving, see *Num. Chron.*, N. S., vol. iv. p. 179.

<sup>31</sup> The *ethrog*, or citron, was, according to tradition, always carried in the left hand, whilst the *lulab*, or bunch of thick-leaved branches, was carried in the right. The word *lulab*

- [שמעון]  
6. *Obv.*—[ש]יא Simon Nasi Israel. "Simon Prince of Israel," written in three lines within a laurel-wreath adorned with a gem.  
*Rev.*—[אלה ישראל] שנת אחת "First year of the redemption of Israel," written round a vase with two handles.<sup>32</sup> (Madden, p. 176, No. 1; De Saulcy, pl. xiii., No. 8.) Æ.
- שמעון  
7. *Obv.*—יש (?) Simon Nasi Israel, or Simon Sisi Israel,<sup>33</sup> written on either side of a palm-tree.  
*Rev.*—[שנת אחת לנאולת ישראל] "First year of the redemption of Israel." Vine-leaf. (Madden, p. 177, No. 1; De Saulcy, pl. xiv., No. 2.) Æ.
8. *Obv.*—ראל... שמעון Palm-branch within a wreath.  
*Rev.*—ל שנת אחת לנאולת ישראל "First year of the redemption of Israel." Lyre with six strings. (Madden, p. 178; No. 1; cf. No. 2.) Æ.
9. *Obv.*—שנת שתיים "Year two." A vessel with two handles.  
*Rev.*—[ח]ציון "Deliverance of Zion," written round a vine-leaf. (Madden, p. 180, No. 1; De Saulcy, pl. x., No. 1.) Æ.

(לילב) strictly means a palm-branch. On the later shekels, with the legends ירושלם ישראל and שנת אחת לנאולת ישראל, the *ethrog* is placed on the left of the *lulab*, as if to mark the custom. (Cf. Madden, pp. 50, 164, 166.)

<sup>32</sup> An example of this rare coin has been recently purchased for the Museum cabinet. The handles of the vase are slightly different in shape. It weighs 568 grains. That in Paris only weighs 515. There are no traces of re-striking, though both were probably struck upon large brass coins of the time of Augustus.

<sup>33</sup> A specimen of this coin in the *Museo Kircheriano* reads also *Sisi*; and Garrucci (*Op. cit.*, p. 38, note 2) suggests that it is perhaps derived from ששי, whence in Ezekiel xxxix. 2, we read ששאר, rendered by the LXX *καθοδηγήσω* (read *καθοδηγήσω*), and hence ששי, *dus*. I had thought that the *Nun* had been omitted and an extra *Shin* introduced by the error of the engraver.

10. *Obv.*—שנת שלוש "Year three." A vessel with two handles and cover.

*Rev.*—Legend and type same as No. 9. (Madden, p. 180, No. 2; De Saulcy, pl. x., No. 2.) Æ.

11. *Obv.*—שנת ארבע וחצי "Year four—one half." Two *lulabs* between an *ethrog*.

*Rev.*—לגאולת ציון "The redemption of Zion." Palm-tree between two baskets. (Madden, p. 47, No. 8; De Saulcy, pl. i., No. 6.) Æ.

12. *Obv.*—שנת ארבע רביע "Year four—one quarter." Two *lulabs*.

*Rev.*—לגאולת ציון "The redemption of Zion." An *ethrog*. (Madden, p. 47, No. 9; De Saulcy, pl. i., No. 7.) Æ.

13. *Obv.*—שנת ארבע "Year four." A *lulab* between two *ethrogs*.

*Rev.*—לגאולת ציון "The redemption of Zion." A cup or chalice. (Madden, p. 47, No. 10; De Saulcy, pl. i., No. 8.) Æ.

It will thus be seen that Garrucci has assigned to the First Revolt every coin given to it by Levy and myself, excepting those classified under "Simon, son of Gioras" (Madden, pp. 166—174), and two copper coins with the three-stringed lyre (Madden, p. 179, Nos. 1, 2). But he has done more—he has assigned also to the First Revolt the copper coins always hitherto (excepting by De Saulcy) ascribed to Simon Maccabæus. This new suggestion will necessarily require some comments. Let us, however, examine the coins above described in their order.

The Eleazar selected by De Vogüé, Levy, and myself, was Eleazar, son of Simon; but in consequence of his only having struck coins with his name during the *first* year (or rather, I should say, in consequence of no coins of Eleazar having yet been discovered excepting with the mark of the first year), Garrucci would perhaps wish to

assign them to Eleazar, son of the high-priest Ananias, who commanded the insurrection for the first year, and was afterwards, as we have above stated, sent by Ananus to Idumæa in military command. This Eleazar was "Captain of the Temple."<sup>34</sup> Eleazar, son of Simon, though not a son of a high-priest, was still of priestly race.<sup>35</sup> It is indeed a difficult question to decide to which of them the coins shall be assigned.<sup>36</sup>

With regard to the coins of this period bearing the name of Simon, viz., that of Simon in conjunction with Eleazar, and those with the legend "Simon Nasi Israel," Garrucci says:<sup>37</sup> "Respecting the Simon whose name is struck upon coins of this period, I think we must adopt the opinion once proposed by Barthélemy concerning the Simon of the Second Revolt (for no ancient historian ever gives Bar-cohab the name of Simon), to whom we must now add the one assigned by us to the first. Of these two Simons,

<sup>34</sup> Στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ, Joseph., *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 17, 2. This was a Jewish and not a Roman officer, who had the command of the priests and Levites employed to keep watch over the Temple. He is mentioned by St. Luke (xxii. 4, 52) and in the Acts (iv. 1; v. 24). "The priests that kept the door" (2 Kings, xii. 9; xxv. 18) are mentioned by Josephus (τοὺς φυλάσσοντας τὸ ἱερόν ἡγεμόνας, *Antiq.* x. 8, 5); and when, before the taking of Jerusalem, the gate of the Temple opened of its own accord, those who kept watch in the Temple ran and told the captain (ἐραμόντες δ' οἱ τοῦ ἱεροῦ φύλακες ἡγγεῖλαν τῷ στρατηγῷ, *Bell. Jud.*, vi. 5, 3). It seems to have been an office frequently held by the high-priest's son (Joseph., *Antiq.*, xx. 6, 2; *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 12, 6). The προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ, in 2 Maccab., iii. 4, rendered "governor of the Temple," was doubtless the same officer as the στρατηγὸς of the New Testament and Josephus. (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, s.v. *Captain*.)

<sup>35</sup> Γένος ἐκ τῶν ἱσραήλ. (Joseph., *Bell. Jud.*, iv. 4, 1.)

<sup>36</sup> The attribution by De Saulcy of these coins to Eleazar of Modaim has already been ably disproved by Dr. Levy. (*Num. Chron.*, N. S., vol. v. p. 345; cf. p. 212.)

<sup>37</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

no one has succeeded in finding a trace in the first year of the two Revolts. It is by no means unlikely that the name of that Simon the Maccabee who first rescued and liberated the nation from the yoke of the Seleucidæ may have been struck upon the coins, first of Eleazar and afterwards of Bar-cochab. I think there is no other way of explaining the name of Simon found in conjunction with that of Eleazar on the same coins, which, from being without any year-mark, I regard as the first struck before those of the Redemption of Israel." Simon, son of Gioras, being therefore excluded on account of not having acted in concert with Eleazar, and not having entered Jerusalem, as already stated, till the third year, and the other Simons of the revolt either being of no importance, or not being colleagues with Eleazar before the third year, Garrucci is of opinion<sup>38</sup> that "we cannot tell who this Simon may be, whose name we read upon the copper coins of the first year of the Revolt with the appellative of 'Prince of Israel' (שִׁמְעוֹן נָשִׂיא יִשְׂרָאֵל)." I cannot, however, quite bring myself to agree entirely with this conclusion. I certainly think that the claims of Simon, son of Gamaliel, are worthy of some consideration. Yet, after all, it is not a matter of much moment: the important point on which we both agree is, that these coins belong to the First Revolt.

Having now disposed of the coins of Eleazar and Simon Nasi, we next may consider the copper of the remaining years. With respect to the small common copper coins of the years two and three, every one is agreed that they are of the time of Nero. Let us consider what Garrucci says:<sup>39</sup> "It being known, then, that the First Revolt lasted at least

<sup>38</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>39</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 36.



four years, and as it is apparent from the above-mentioned coins of the second and third years that the year used to be written at full length, we have no choice but to join with these all those which constantly observe the same usage, and write at length years 'one' to 'four.' Without looking far, we shall find a series of silver and copper coins of year one with the names of Eleazar and Simon, and another series of the fourth year without the name of the prince."

Thus the copper coins of the fourth year, hitherto ascribed to Simon Maccabæus, are now assigned to the fourth year of the First Revolt by Garrucci.

In my reply to the criticisms of De Saulcy,<sup>40</sup> I have already called attention to the fact that Garrucci did not assign these copper coins to Simon Maccabæus, firstly, on account of the enormous difference of the palæography;<sup>41</sup> and I quoted from Cavedoni that the enormous difference of the palæography consisted mainly in the form of the *Shin*, which on the smaller copper coins is sometimes angular (W) and sometimes rounded (Ű). Secondly, on account of the manner of marking the year, not by a sign, as in the first, second, and third years, but at length. To this also Cavedoni objected, saying: "In the shekels of the years I., II., III., and IV., the years are marked by sign by reason of the restricted space of the area; and in the copper coins, when the engraver had the whole of the

<sup>40</sup> *Num. Chron.*, N. S., vol. v. p. 191, *seq.*

<sup>41</sup> Mr. Evans in 1857 (*Num. Chron.*, vol. xx., p. 12) wrote: "I must confess that I very much doubt the propriety of classing these copper coins with the shekels, both from the formation of the letters, and especially of the *w*, and from the nature of the inscriptions, which so closely resemble some of those on the coins of Simon Bar-cochab."

space round the type, he marked at full length 'the fourth year.' ”<sup>42</sup>

Garrucci has again considered the first point—the difference of the palæography—and writes:<sup>43</sup> “I called enormous the difference in the letters *Aleph*, *Beth*, *Ghimel*, *Vau*, *Jod*, and *Tzade*; and I would demonstrate it, if it were necessary.”

Respecting the second point—the manner of marking the year—he says:<sup>44</sup> “The fourth year being marked at full length with the word *Arbah*, and not with the figure *Daleth*, as we should have expected, in conformity with the three preceding years, I can now say that in part at least my opinion has been justified; for there has since been discovered a silver shekel on which we read the fourth year marked, according to the system of preceding years, שנת (Shenath d), as I had thought, and as reason would have led us to expect.” . . . “Neither can the alleged reason of greater space upon the *field* of the coin be valid; for here, on the contrary, the substantive *shekel*, always employed on the coinage of the four years, seems to have been purposely omitted to give room for the two words at full length, reading שנת ארבע חצי, instead of שנת חשקל חצי, as ought to have been written, according to the analogy of the silver shekels. Whence there was no motive to induce the moneyers of that nation, well known for its pertinacity in old habits, to change the formula used in the first four years; and I say four years, because, as I remarked, we have now a shekel with the fourth year thus marked שנת, a fact which puts the seal on this opinion.”<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *Num. Chron.*, N. S., vol. v. p. 193, note 10.

<sup>43</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 32, note.

<sup>44</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

<sup>45</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

The weights of these copper coins do not offer any opposition to the new theory of Garrucci. The half (חצי) he considers<sup>46</sup> to be "the half of a whole which ought to weigh from 447·76 to 463·20 grains. The Roman *sestertius* sometimes weighs even 481·72 grains, according to the testimony of Borghesi. We may then believe that it is of the same value as a *dupondius*; while the second piece, which is the fourth part (רביע), ought to value an *as*, and the third piece a *semis*. This division, introduced by Augustus, who caused the *sestertius* of bronze to be adopted throughout the empire, shows that these three coins cannot belong to the fourth year of Simon the Maccabee."

I may now add the concluding sentences of Garrucci on this subject:<sup>47</sup> "After the first year of the war of the Independence, the city being split up into factions hostile to each other, it does not seem to me difficult to explain why the copper was issued without any chief's name. The city in the second year had no one to govern it, and Josephus calls it a city without a leader (πόλιν ἀστρατήγητον, *Bell. Jud.*, iv., 3, 3); in the third and fourth years there was still a greater dearth of governors, when it was divided into three parties. Even the reason of substituting *Sion* for *Israel* seems to have been the fact, that when these coins were issued, Sion was the only fortress left to the Jews, all the others having fallen into the hands of the Romans and been destroyed. I do not wish to conceal the only difficulty which I think remains to the new system of attribution, namely, the value of the copper coins which we only read on those struck during the fourth year, when we should have expected to find it in the first

<sup>46</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 38, note 3.

<sup>47</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

year, when they had the means of then making it known. But I think that this difficulty is more apparent than real, because, in treating of coins issued during a time of revolt, who can say what new need of marking the value may have arisen that was unforeseen at first?"

Since receiving Garrucci's printed article he has written to me a few additional remarks on this last point. He says: "I do not think that any serious objection can be raised to my seeing that these coins, and not those of the three preceding years of the First Revolt, bear the value marked on them; since, if this custom had been introduced by Simon, we should not understand how and why it should have been abandoned by his successors, who nevertheless struck coins of similar weight. On the other hand, one can easily comprehend that the value, either nominal or real, might be changed in the first three years by the troubles and confusion of all things in these political changes, and the value might begin to be affected. In the same way as at Rhegium, in Calabria, we see that the marks of value were commenced late on the copper coinage from the necessity which made itself felt in consequence of the confusion caused by the changes which had taken place in the preceding years."<sup>48</sup>

It may be as well to observe here that M. de Saulcy has already expressed some doubts as to the copper and silver shekels being of the same age. He says:<sup>49</sup> "Comme je n'ai pas envie de faire des réticences, je me fais un devoir d'ajouter que toujours, à part moi, j'ai trouvé que les monnaies de cuivre de l'année 4, comme style et comme fabrique ne s'accordaient pas suffisamment bien à mon

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Mommsen, *Histoire de la Monnaie Romaine*, translated from the German by the late M. le Duc de Blacas, vol. i. p. 135.

<sup>49</sup> *Rev. Num.*, 1864, p. 377.

gré avec les belles monnaies d'argent connues sous le nom de sicles et de demi-sicles. C'est là une affaire d'instinct, de flair, si l'on veut, mais si l'instinct se trompe rarement, je n'entends pas dire qu'il soit infaillible."

In spite of this, however, De Saulcy could see no other means of getting over the difficulty than by attributing the silver and copper to the same period.

I will now state my objections to the theory of Garrucci respecting these copper coins of the fourth year, and my reasons for still maintaining that they can only be attributed to the reign of Simon Maccabæus.

1. I cannot concur with the opinion of Garrucci that the difference of the palæography on the silver and copper is *enormous*; and, for better explanation, I think it advisable to introduce on the next page a table of the characters occurring upon each,<sup>50</sup> together with those on the coins of John Hyrcanus, Eleazar the priest, and the small copper coins of the years "two" and "three" of the First Revolt.

The especial letters mentioned by Garrucci, as I have already previously stated, as differing enormously, are the *Aleph*, *Beth*, *Ghimel*, *Vau*, *Jod*, and *Tzade*. But I confess that I cannot see such an enormous difference between the *Ghimel*, *Jod*, and *Tzade*, whereas the *Lamed*, *Shin*, and *Tau* are identical. The only letter that may really be

<sup>50</sup> De Saulcy (*Rev. Num.*, 1864, p. 374) has given a complete table of the letters on the shekels and on the coins of Hyrcanus and his successors. He says that he had prepared it with the greatest care (*avec le plus grand soin*), and I therefore regret to be obliged to notice the following imperfections. The letters *Nun* and *Ain* do not occur on the silver shekels. The two forms of *Koph* are not given, whilst the *Aleph*, *Resch*, and *Shin* are altogether omitted from the list of the letters on the coins of John Hyrcanus.



considered as essentially differing is the *Vau* (𐤆). But this form of the *Vau* (𐤆) occurs upon the coins of John Hyrcanus, the successor of Simon, and on the coins of the former's successors, and *never on the coins of the Revolts*. One may also remark that the form of the *Vau* on the silver shekels (𐤅) also occurs, together with 𐤆 on the coins of Hyrcanus. If palæography, of which we see endless varieties on the coins of the Revolts (for example, the *Aleph* and *Vau*), is to be brought forward for such *minute* criticism, then surely, because the coins of Eleazar have the *Aleph*, the *He*, and several other letters almost identical with the characters on the silver shekels, therefore they should be given to the time of Simon! I certainly agree with De Saulcy, that the style and fabric of the copper do not accord with that of the silver, and like him, seeing nothing else that I can venture to do with them, I consider that both silver and copper were issued at the same time.<sup>51</sup>

2. Notwithstanding that the years are written at length on these coins of the fourth year, as upon those of the first three years of the First Revolt, I am of opinion that the introduction of such large-sized coins of three varieties, would not have taken place during the factions in the city, or so soon before the capture of Jerusalem. Garrucci's suggestion that had these coins been struck by Simon Maccabæus, they ought to have been inscribed ער דצ' השקל, as upon the silver, I must certainly reject

<sup>51</sup> If a comparison with coins of modern times might be hazarded, one may compare the fine gold pieces (*Agostaro*) of Frederic II., Emperor (1220—1250), with his laurelled portrait, like a Roman bust, struck in Sicily, with the miserable specimens of copper issued at the same time with his effigy most barbarously treated. (Cf. *Ricerche sull' Agostaro di Fed. II.* Bologna, 1819.)

entirely. The word שקל would never have been placed upon a *copper* coin.<sup>52</sup> It may be compared with the word *στανήρ*—standard—which is only applied to coins of gold, of electrum, or of silver. Moreover, I do not understand why on the coins of years “two” and “three” we read *חורית ציון*, and on those of year “four” we read *לגאלה ציון*, and why the value was introduced at the fourth year only of the Revolt, notwithstanding the explanation of Garrucci given above, which, though ingenious, does not seem to me to be conclusive. That the value should be put on them in the fourth year of Simon is, on the contrary, quite natural, seeing that it occurs on the silver shekels; but as the word *השקל* could not be placed upon the copper, the engraver had more space at his disposal, and therefore marked the year at full length (*שנה ארבע* instead of *עד*).

3. We may next remark the thickness, the peculiar form and manner of striking these coins, peculiarities which have already been observed by Bayer, from whom I here quote. “If you look even casually at the six smaller coins of which we were speaking, you will find that besides the module, weight, type, and legend, besides the colour of the copper and the character of its structure, which seem to be of the same character in all, there is always the same sort of cutting round the rim, which renders the side on which is the *lulab*, larger and better spread than that on which is the cup; as we have also observed on the coins of the preceding years.<sup>53</sup> For when

<sup>52</sup> The copper shekel in the collection of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt (Madden, pp. 46, 48; *Num. Chron.*, N. S., vol. ii. p. 268; vol. iv. pp. 175, 183) is not a *copper* coin, but the *fac-simile* of a silver one. It is a forgery of the time, probably issued by some neighbouring state.

<sup>53</sup> Coins of the years “two” and “three” were also attributed



the coins (as those experienced in these matters conjecture from the fabric) had been struck by a blow of a hammer on a plate of soft metal, they cut them here and there with a hollow chisel or gouge into a circular form, and yet the chisel did not make a perfect circle, but left a certain portion of the circumference (τῆς περιφερείας) intact, by which the coin was still attached to the plate from which it was finally detached by means of shears. They say that the cause of the inequality in the size of the two faces of the coins arises from the fact that the gouge could not be retained perfectly in place when receiving the blows of the hammer, so that it did not cut in straight, but ran out towards the edge of the coin on account of the hardness of the metal and the difficulty in cutting it. Since very manifest traces of all this appear on our coins, we have taken great pains to have them faithfully shown in the engravings. - We have also placed in a plate by themselves some good examples of similar cutting on coins of *kings of Syria*, or of the Greeks of Phoenicia, of not much earlier date than our coins; and also on Punic or Carthaginian coins, as well as some of Gades, Canaca, and Abdera, which came in our way, though *such appearances are rare on Greek coins.*" <sup>54</sup>

by Bayer to Simon Maccabæus, but erroneously; and the peculiar manner of striking here alluded to is not so apparent upon them as upon the coins of the year "four." Moreover, they are very much thinner.

<sup>54</sup> *De Num. Hebr.*, p. 139. The coins of Canaca, mentioned by Bayer, which were attributed to that place by Sestini and others, have been restored by the Rev. J. C. Lindberg to Sex, in Bætica (*Comm. de Num. Punices Sextorum, olim Canacæ et Concanæ tributis*. Havniæ, 8vo., 1824), an attribution confirmed by a coin preserved in the Paris collection. (J. Y. Akerman, *Anc. Coins of Cities and Princes*, pp. 24, 55, 199, 200.)

The appearances here noticed by Bayer are certainly most striking on these coins, and agree, together with the thickness and size, most remarkably and unmistakably with the coins of the kings of Syria. Though a somewhat similar treatment seems to have been employed for the coins of Hyrcanus and his successors, for the coins struck by the procurators, and for the coins of the years "two" and "three" of Nero's revolt, yet it is impossible to admit of any comparison, either in size, metal, or general appearance of the coins of the year "four" with those bearing the years "two" and "three." This statement is so patent that there is no further need of comment.

4. The types of these coins of the year "four" are totally different to those found on the coins of the Revolts. The form of the *lulab* is different, and the *cup* on the smallest coins of the year "four" has no resemblance to the *vessels* on those of the years "two" and "three." The *cup* is almost identical with that on the shekels, whilst the *vessels*, especially that on the coins of year "two," nearly resemble the one on the large coin of Simon Nasi.

5. The weight of the coins of the year "four." Firstly may be remarked the similarity of weight to that of the coins of the Syrian kings, some of the largest of which weigh 215 grains, whilst others have an average of about 150, and others of about 96. That these coins, if attributed to the First Revolt, can be assimilated to the *dupondius*, *as*, and *semis* is, of course, easily to be understood, but the coins of Antigonus confirm the system of weight adopted for the copper of Simon Maccabæus. The coins of Antigonus, with the single *cornu-copiæ*, do not repre-

sent, as I had previously thought,<sup>55</sup> the half of those with the double cornu-copiæ, but the *quarter of a whole* not existing. Let us tabulate this for explanation :—

## SIMON MACCABÆUS. ANTIGONUS.

	Æ.	Æ.
$\frac{1}{2}$ shekel . . . .	235·4	227
$\frac{1}{4}$ „ . . . .	132	118
$\frac{1}{8}$ „ . . . .	81·8	

That John Hyrcanus did not continue to issue copper of a similar size to that struck by Simon is easily explained. The copper of Antiochus VII. Sidetes, and the rest of the Syrian kings, would amply suffice for circulation, and Hyrcanus therefore issued small pieces averaging 33·2 grains, which were meant to agree with the coinage of his predecessor, as well as with that of the kings of Syria. Besides, Antiochus VII. Sidetes himself struck at Jerusalem coins of similar weight to those of Hyrcanus.<sup>56</sup> The coins of John Hyrcanus, Judas Aristobulus, and Alexander Jannæus, are the *sixteenth* part of the copper shekel, the *eighth* part of the half, and the *fourth* part of the quarter, or else the *third* of the sixth of the shekel and therefore the ninth of the half. That Simon, to whom special permission was granted to strike coins, should avail himself of it to its *full extent* to maintain his *priestly* status, is what we should naturally have expected, and it is easily understood why the semi-hellenicised Hyrcanus should discontinue to produce actually similar pieces. It has been often urged by De Saulcy, in favour of his attribution to Jaddua, that Hyrcanus did not copy the system introduced by Simon. But for the same reason that he did not

<sup>55</sup> Madden, p. 79.

<sup>56</sup> Madden, p. 67; De Saulcy, p. 100, pl. iii., Nos. 13, 14.

strike copper coins of a similar size—though, remember, of related weight—he did not issue a silver coinage. The silver tetradrachms of Tyre, which were first issued in the latter years of Physcon, B.C. 125, and the Tyrian tetradrachms of Alexander I., Demetrius II., and Antiochus VII. Sidetes, all equivalent in weight to the shekels (viz. 220 grains), were the purely recognised silver coinage, especially issued for currency in Phœnicia, Judæa, &c. The other tetradrachms of these kings, which may be termed Syrian, generally weigh 255 grains, and are Attic tetradrachms. The copper coins of Syria would agree with either the Phœnician or Syrian tetradrachms, the proportion in weight being only about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to  $6\frac{1}{2}$ .

I here introduce a table of the currency of silver and copper in Syria, Phœnicia, and Judæa, with the average weights, showing that in consequence of the abundance of silver and of large-sized copper coins, there was no need for Hyrcanus to issue any other than fractional pieces.

SILVER.				COPPER.			
Simon Maccabæus.	Tetradrachms of Tyre and those issued at Tyre by Syrian Kings, especially for currency in Phœnicia, Judæa, etc.		Tetradrachms purely Syrian.	Simon Maccabæus.	Antigonos.	Syrian Kings.	John Hyrcanus and successors.
Shekel	220	220	255	[500]			
$\frac{1}{2}$ Shekel	110	110		235.4	227	215	
$\frac{1}{4}$ Shekel				132	118	150	
$\frac{1}{8}$ [Shekel]				81.8		96	
$\frac{1}{16}$ [Shekel] or else $\frac{1}{3}$ of the sixth	}						33.2

It must be especially remembered that Hyrcanus did not care about his sacred and priestly position; and in consequence of the Syrian coins which he took as a model bearing the name of a king, he also issued pieces with his own name; and also there being a sufficient quantity of silver and large copper current in Judæa, that he contented himself with issuing only the small pieces attributed to him. His successors, for the same reasons, followed his example, and Antigonus doubtless struck larger pieces from having been restored to the throne by the aid of the Parthians, with whose coinage his pieces also agree. The small coinage of Parthia, averaging 32 grains, may also have offered an inducement to Hyrcanus to issue pieces of this weight.

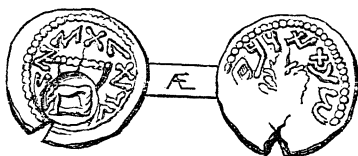
The small pieces of the years "two" and "three" of the Revolt weigh from 54 to 43 grains, and if these small coins were found sufficient for these years, together with the coins of Eleazar and Simon Nasi, how is it that in the fourth year of the Revolt such a fine new coinage with specific denomination was issued? I do not think that this question can receive any satisfactory answer. The table given above, in my opinion, gives as reasonable a view of the subject as can be expected after such an interval of time.

6. That a copper coinage should be introduced at the fourth year of Simon seems to me extremely probable. I have not much doubt that Simon commenced striking coins at the end of B.C. 143, when the people of Israel began to write in their instruments and contracts, "In the first year of Simon the high-priest, the governor and leader of the Jews," an opinion I have already suggested and inclined to.<sup>57</sup> In the fourth year (*Ann. Sel.* 174,

<sup>57</sup> *Hist. of Jewish Coinage*, p. 41, note.

B.C. 139), Antiochus “*brake all the covenants* which he had made him afore,”<sup>58</sup> and consequently the reign of Simon became less prosperous, and the operations against Sidetes must have put the Jews to great expense, seeing that they sent into the field an army of 20,000 infantry with cavalry.<sup>59</sup> This would be a sufficient cause for a cessation of the silver coinage early in the fourth year of Simon, and for an issue of a copper one.

7. The last argument which I here bring forward in favour of the coins of the fourth year belonging to Simon Maccabæus, is obtained from a coin existing in the collection of the British Museum, and of which I here give an engraving.



It will be seen that it is one of the small copper pieces (the sixth of the shekel), and that on the obverse there is the countermark of an *elephant*. Now, the elephant was a special type of the Syrian kings. It was adopted as a coin-type by Seleucus I. Nicator, who, marrying the daughter of Sandrocottus (Chandra-Gupta), an Indian king, with whom he had been at war for some time, received from him a present of five hundred elephants.<sup>60</sup> He was in consequence called in derision, by Demetrius I. Poliorcetes, King of Macedonia, “a ruler of elephants.”<sup>61</sup> The type of the

<sup>58</sup> 1 Maccab., xv. 27.

<sup>59</sup> 1 Maccab., xvi. 4; Joseph., *Antiq.*, xiii. 7, 3; *Bell. Jud.* i. 2, 2.

<sup>60</sup> Strabo, p. 724.

<sup>61</sup> Ἐλεφαντάρχου. Plut., in *Demetr.*, 25.

elephant also occurs on coins of Seleucus III. Callinicus, Alexander I. Balas, Antiochus VI. Theos, &c., and on those of Apameia in Syria, at which place Seleucus had his commissariat, keeping there five hundred elephants, thirty thousand mares, and three hundred stallions.<sup>62</sup> That these Jewish coins were therefore current in Syria, and were *counter-marked in Syria with the elephant*, seems beyond all doubt; and it may be hazarded that this one was counter-marked at Apameia. The type of the elephant, as far as I can ascertain, does not occur upon any Greek-Imperial or autonomous coins of the time of Nero,<sup>63</sup> nor upon any which could have affected the coins of Judæa; and, to my mind, this counter-marked coin establishes for a positive certainty that the copper which I, with others, maintain to have been issued by Simon Maccabæus, could only have been struck at a time when the type of an elephant would have been a likely one to have been employed as a counter-mark. The anchor, which is also a peculiar badge of the Seleucidæ, is likewise frequently counter-marked on coins current in Syria. The elephant's head also occurs.

Unless, therefore, some arguments or proofs more convincing than the seven I have here advanced can be brought forward—which I much doubt—it may with

<sup>62</sup> Strabo, p. 752.

<sup>63</sup> The quadriga of elephants may be found on the Roman gold and silver coins of Nero and Agrippina (Cohen, vol. i. p. 176, Nos. 2, 3), in which, in all probability, are seated Augustus and Livia; for, according to history, a car of elephants was decreed to them (Eckhel, vol. vi. p. 258). And Nero also struck gold and silver coins with the legend AVGVSTVS AVGVSTA, certainly representing the figures of Augustus and Livia. The quadriga of elephants, with Augustus on the car, occurs as a type struck by Tiberius in A.D. 34, 35, 36 (Cohen, vol. i. p. 45, Nos. 24, 25, 26).

safety be asserted that the coins of the fourth year do not belong to the fourth year of the First Revolt, but to the fourth year of Simon Maccabæus.

This being established, we may pass on to the coins attributed by the Padre Garrucci to the Second Revolt.

B. Coins of the Second Revolt have the legend לחרור ירושלם for the first year, and no date; and for the second, לחרור ישראל, and the date always in cypher, ע"ב.

#### B. REVOLT OF BAR-COCHAB.

It seems to me needless to give either an account of the Revolt of Bar-cochab, or to enter into full descriptions of the coins belonging to this period, as a reference to my volume will be all that is necessary.

All the coins published in my book (pp. 167—174) as belonging to Simon, son of Gioras, are to be restored to Bar-cochab. The shekels with a star (Madden, pp. 170, 171) I had already assigned to him.

The copper coin with the type of a three-stringed lyre (Madden, p. 179) is to be given to Bar-cochab.

The re-struck coins to remain attributed to Bar-cochab (Madden, pp. 204—210).

I have now laid before English readers the new views of the Rev. Padre Garrucci, and I cannot omit the opportunity of expressing to him the great pleasure I have received from reading and studying his paper. I think that the two arguments he has adduced, (1) that coins on which the year is written at length, and on which the words לנאלי and חרות occur, belong to the First Revolt; and (2) that coins with no year, or the year in cypher, and the word לחרור, belong to the Second, are well worthy attention, with the sole exception that the coins of the



fourth year—though the year is upon them at length—do not belong (as I have above proved) to the period of the Eleazar revolt. After a careful reconsideration of the whole subject, I fear that the supposed coins of Simon, son of Gioras, must be given up to Bar-cochab; though I still think the fact that he did not enter Jerusalem till the *third* year does not form such a serious obstacle to Dr. Levy's classification as has been supposed, for the explanation of the difficulty was more satisfactory than might have been expected.<sup>64</sup> I have come to the conclusion now that *no coins* were issued at all by the Jews *during the fourth year of the First Revolt*; and I have drawn up, with the aid of Clinton's admirable work,<sup>65</sup> a table of dates and events, with a tabulated explanation of how I should propose to arrange the coins of the First Revolt:—

YEAR.	MONTH.	YEAR A.D.	EVENTS.
	May	66	'Απρεμίσιον μηνός 2nd month of Jewish year and 5th of Roman. Jewish war begins ( <i>Bell. Jud.</i> , ii. 14, 4). Cf. <i>Bell. Jud.</i> , ii. 17, 7; 17, 8, July and August (15th of Loüs and 6th of Gorpiazus.)
I.		67	Vespasian conducts Jewish war ( <i>Bell. Jud.</i> , ii. 1, 2).
	Feb.	68	Vespasian enters Gadara on 4th of Dystrus ( <i>Bell. Jud.</i> , iv. 7, 3).
	April	68	Simon enters Jerusalem in the 3rd year of war, and in the 1st month of Jewish year (Xanthicus, <i>Bell. Jud.</i> , iv. 9, 12).
II.	May	68	Vespasian enters Jericho on 3rd of Dæsius ( <i>Bell. Jud.</i> , iv. 8, 1).
III.	Jan.	69	Jewish war suspended ( <i>Tac. Hist.</i> , v. 10), and Jerusalem left to factions ( <i>Bell. Jud.</i> , iv. 3, 7).
	[May	69]	
IV.	Jan.	70	
	May	70	
	Aug.	70	Temple burnt on 10th of Loüs ( <i>Bell. Jud.</i> , vi. 4, 5).
	Sept.	70	Last wall taken on 8th of Gorpiazus ( <i>Bell. Jud.</i> , vi. 8, 5).

<sup>64</sup> Madden, p. 169; *Num. Chron.*, N. S., vol. v. p. 215.

<sup>65</sup> *Fast. Rom.*, vol. i. pp. 48—58.

My theory of the coinage will therefore be as follows :  
that—

1st Year. From May 66, to May 67,	{ The coins of Eleazar, the shekels with ירושלם, the copper coins with the five-stringed lyre, and the coins of Simon Nasi were issued.
2nd Year. From May 67, to May 68,	{ In consequence of the abundance of the previous coinage, and the factions already existing in Jerusalem, only the small copper coins of the year "two" were struck, and these in tolerable abundance.
3rd Year. From May 68, to May 69,	{ The small copper coins of the year "three," which are <i>infinitely</i> rarer than those of year "two," were struck, which proves that the factions had increased to such an extent from the commencement of January 69, that no more coins were issued after that date.
4th Year. From May 69, to May 70.	{ No coins were issued, owing to the factions and the siege of Jerusalem by Titus. It eventually fell four months afterwards (see Table above).

I may conclude by expressing the hope that other numismatists interested in Jewish numismatics, will well consider all that has recently been written upon the question, with a view of obtaining, if possible, a correct classification of the later period of Jewish coinage. The paper of the Padre Garrucci is a model which may well be imitated by those who venture to write on this subject.

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

## IV.

## NOTE ON THE COINAGE

OF THE

## TAI-PING (太平) OR GREAT PEACE DYNASTY.

As is now well known to all who are interested in the affairs of China, the Rebels, or at least the original promoters of the rebellion in the southern provinces, gave out that they were the representatives of the Ta Ming (大明) or "Great Bright" dynasty, which exercised sway over China for the space of two hundred and seventy-six years (A.D. 1348 to 1624). The Ming emperors sprang from a purely native stock, and, as such, possessed a certain hold on the affections of the people. "The Ming Rule" was, at any rate, an excellent party word in the mouth of an ambitious demagogue such as was Hung Hsin-Tsuan, the Rebel leader. Accordingly the manners, the style of dress, and the general carriage of the Ming dynasty were assumed by the Tai-ping Wangs (kings), and had, no doubt, a certain influence on the ignorant and inexpressible classes of the natives. Along with the other externals of the 大清 (Ta Ching)<sup>1</sup> rule, which were indignantly rejected, the coinage adopted by the Tatars was superseded by a coinage invented by the Rebel leaders. The form of the cash, or *chien*,<sup>2</sup> remained the same as before, but instead of the Manchou characters on the

<sup>1</sup> [The author here uses a local dialect, the usual form being Ta Tsing.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> [Pronounced tseën in the usual dialect.—*Ed.*]

reverse as under, they left the reverse of the coin perfectly plain. They then issued a cash the same in dimensions and intrinsic value, with simply the inscription, "Tai ping tung pao," or "Current coin of the Tai-ping dynasty."

The Mings are not reported to have possessed either a gold or silver coinage, neither did the Tai-pings attempt to put the precious metals into circulation. Indeed, had they tried to do so, the fearfully unsettled state of the country would have rendered their endeavours fruitless. The coinage, such as it was (and it never took any other form than that indicated above), was supposed to have been Imperial, but, as was the custom under the established rule, the privilege of coining was farmed out to wealthy individuals, or to large banking houses. The latter coined at Nanking, Soochon, or indiscriminately at any of the large cities which fell under the Tai-ping sway. It is worthy of notice that the value of the cash was but little depreciated during the later months or years of the Tai-ping rule. It was made of a description of bronze, and bore a close resemblance to the coinage of the period Kea-Ching,<sup>3</sup> A.D. 1525. The characters 太平 (Tai ping) are found on the reverse of Ming coins of the reign of Wai Tsung, A.D. 1625, but I have seen one of the coins of that dynasty with these characters on the obverse. Some have 大明 (Ta Ming), the name of the dynasty, on the obverse, and this has been copied by the insurgents, in placing the name of their so-called dynasty on the obverse of their coins.

R. ALEX. JAMIESON.

<sup>3</sup> [Apparently for Kea-Tsing, who reigned A.D. 1520-1565.  
—*Ed.*]

## V.

## ON A COLLECTION OF CHINESE COINS.

It is a matter of comparative ease to form a small collection of Chinese coins. It is in extending it that the real difficulties of the collector's task begin, a knowledge of Chinese history being indispensable, either personally to him or contained in works of reference to which he shall have ready access ; and, above all, he *must*, to a certain extent, be acquainted with the Chinese character. Collections of coins for sale to Europeans are sometimes made by enterprising Chinese, principally attached to the missionaries. These are fastened on cards about six or eight inches square, either on one side or both, and sold in packets for sums varying from 2 dollars to 8 dollars. A collection of this sort contains from 100 to 150 coins, but there will be many counterfeits among the rarer specimens, very few being able to detect them ; the fact of such counterfeiting showing how extensively the sale prevails. To take such as a nucleus around which to form a full collection is very useful. It will be found to contain a *Tuout-seen*, or " Knife cash "—so called from its form ; a " Ho poo " (both, in all probability, counterfeits) ; one or two *pwan leangs* and *Woo choos* ; then examples of the various issues scattered between the dates of these coins and the " Sung " dynasty ; after which will follow a very

fair collection of the commoner coins of that illustrious line, giving one or two of each sovereign, some being forgeries. The *Youen* dynasty will be, in all likelihood, omitted, counterfeits being rarely or never offered. A "*Ming*" coin or so may follow, after which will come a few of those of the various petty sovereigns, chiefs, and usurpers who harassed the country when distracted by rebellion at the downfall of the *Mings* and the commencement of the present dynasty, with some twenty or thirty coins of which the collection will usually close.

Having secured these coins, and affixed to them the dates, which are always approximately given on the cards, the collector is now left to his own resources. Hundreds of coins have yet to be added before his cabinet will be complete. It is true that, taking the *Sung* dynasty as an example, it will contain in all probability a coin of each sovereign or of nearly all; but several emperors coined a great many, and his collection will no more be complete without them than would be that of a collector of English coins who had only one shilling of George IV. as his example of the shilling coinage of that reign. He must have a representative of each issue to be complete, and the same with Chinese money. The differences of these issues are only to be ascertained by noting the variations in the size of the coin, the characters used to express the word "coinage," the arrangement of the signs on the obverse of the coin, whether they be set across or follow round. The signs, marks, and symbols on the reverse are also of the greatest moment: a dot, and its position as regards the hole, making perhaps a variation in the date. The characters on the reverse either mark the mint whence the money is issued, or else have some historical, political, or legendary significance, which will as

clearly define its epoch as will the date at the bottom of a sixpence of Queen Victoria.

All these facts will instantly demonstrate to the collector the difficulties to be experienced ; having, as he has to do, to draw nearly all his information from Chinese native numismatic works, the very few European writings of any value on the subject being of excessive rarity. There is an article on the coins of the reigning dynasty by Mr. A. Wylie, published in No. 1 of the Journal of the Shanghai Literary and Scientific Society, in June, 1858, which has been of the greatest use in classifying the latter portion of this collection. Another difficulty against which collectors of Chinese coins will have to contend is one little known to ordinary readers, yet of the greatest importance, as clearly marking the epochs in the reigns of the various sovereigns. Every monarch on ascending the throne has two titles ; one is his " Meaou Haou," and the other his " Kwoh Haou." The former is that by which his name will, in an historical sense, be perpetuated to posterity ; the other is that by which he is ordinarily known. Some emperors have changed their title as many as nine times for some important reason or other, usually a great national calamity or want of good fortune, while others have reigned through a quarter of a century under one designation.

With a view to a clearer comprehension of the differences and changes through which the monetary system of the Chinese has passed, I have prepared a short historical summary as a species of running commentary, and shall, from time to time, cite varieties of the coins as illustrative of such changes.

The obscure history of China dates back into the dark ages,—there is no apparent limit to it,—some native his-

torians put it at 45,000 years B.C., at which period *Pwan Koo*, the supposed constructor of the world, is reputed to have lived. This personage is represented as clothed with a sort of apron of leaves, holding the sun in one hand and the moon in the other. The Chinese place their deluge at 2300 B.C., which, in my opinion, goes far to prove that at *this* period, at all events, their ancient records may be said to be, in a great measure, authentic; for the Hebrew places the deluge at B.C. 2288, and the English Bible at B.C. 2348. Mention is furthermore made in their records of the ark,—“The Keu-cha 巨舟” *great raft*, “performed a circuit of the heavens” in twelve “years, and existed on the western seas” in the time of *Yaou* (B.C. 2330).

Assuming, therefore, that the Chinese authentic records date from the time of the *Hea* dynasty, which held sway from B.C. 2142 to B.C. 1756, I shall commence with that.

The first coins would appear to have been issued during this period, their chief peculiarity being, as might be expected, their rough forms, and the facts of their being turned upside down, and the characters written *above* the “hole” end instead of below.

The “Shang” dynasty follows, dating B.C. 1743 to 1112, and issued various coins, bearing on them in obsolete characters inscriptions indicative of such expressions as “the source of commerce,” “*money for commerce*,” “money for the ten (that is, all sorts of) goods,” &c., &c.

The “Chow” dynasty, which comes next, had a wonderful duration, lasting from B.C. 1112 to 243. In the beginning of it the present shape of coinage appears to have been issued, having a larger hole and being destitute of all character.

*King Wang*, the twenty-fifth sovereign of this line, is



reputed to have issued a coin B.C. circa 540. It bears on the obverse the characters *Paou Ho*. *Ho* meaning merchandise of every sort, and *Paou* valuable or precious. The latter character, in conjunction with *Tung*, now appears on all Chinese money, to signify "coinage" (*Tung paou*), and is probably the first time it was used.

In B.C. 371 that general break-up which has invariably preceded the downfall of a Chinese dynasty commenced. The empire was subdivided into nine states, and it was during this period that the *Taou tsëen*, or knife cash, originated.

The first issued were of portentous dimensions. A great variety of these knife cash appear in the works of Chinese numismatists, but I have never seen any of such large size as those there represented.<sup>1</sup> Those now to be obtained were issued immediately after these, and are of smaller size. The first coin to which I shall call attention is a very good specimen of one of these (Pl. I., Fig. 1). It was coined during the reign of *Che Hwang te*, first sovereign of the dynasty called *Tsin*. The nine kingdoms before spoken of had been reduced to seven, and, after much fighting, *Tsin* prevailed over the others, and formed them into one empire. *Che Hwang te* began to reign B.C. 243. He would scarcely be settled on the throne for a year or two, and I may fairly ascribe the date of this coin to be B.C. 240.

The *Tsin* dynasty ruled but for a very short period. It commenced B.C. 243, and in 201 *Kaou te* assumed the throne as founder of the dynasty of *Han*, which lasted from this date to A.D. 226, and with this line commenced the system of *Kwoh Haou* and *Meaou Haou*, above explained.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Freudenthal's collection contains a very fine specimen.

The first coin of these rulers which I shall bring to your notice is one of the class called *pwan leang* (Pl. II., Fig. 1). It is a very beautiful specimen, issued during the reign of *Hwuy te*, second of the Western Hans, B.C. 186.

The next coin is one of King Tes, the fifth sovereign of the Hans, B.C. 139. It bears on the obverse the characters *Ta tseuen woo shih*, the words *Ta tseuen* signifying "origin or source" (of commerce doubtless). The *woo shih* means five-tenths or one-half of some now forgotten weight or measure giving its value. The next coin (Pl. I., Fig. 2) is a noble specimen of Chinese currency, of great rarity and very perfect. It was issued during the reign of *Seuen te*, the eighth sovereign of the Western Hans, who reigned B.C. 68—48, a period of twenty-five years. The characters on the obverse, above and below the square hole, are considered by the Chinese to be of gold inlaid, and if so, one, perhaps the only, instance in which that metal has been employed in any shape or form in Chinese currency. The other characters are "*Chen woo kan*," meaning "bearing an exact value of five kan" (a weight or measure).

The next coin is of the class called *Ho poo*, bearing these two characters in peculiar form on its reverse (Pl. I., Fig. 3). *Ho* means goods, commerce, &c.; *poo* a source or origin. Hence the inscription may be translated "The means whereby commerce is carried on." It was issued B.C. 81, by *Chaou Te*, seventh sovereign of the Western Hans. There were fourteen sovereigns of the Western Hans and twelve of the Eastern Hans.

This collection contains ten coins of the Western Hans appertaining to the second, third, fifth, seventh, eighth, and tenth emperors; and six coins of the Eastern Hans issued by the tenth and the eleventh emperors.

Total disorganisation marks the fall of the Han dynasty,

and the empire was subsequently divided into the celebrated "three kingdoms" of Woo, Wei, and Shuh, when another coin was issued. It bears on the obverse the characters *Ta ping pih tseen*, which, literally translated, means the "great peace hundred money," doubtless in reference to the then comparative tranquillity of the empire, or rather kingdoms.

This, however, did not last long, for shortly afterwards we find six dynasties struggling for supremacy, and crushing one another with marvellous celerity. The first of these dynasties was called "Wei," and began to reign A.D. 496. Leang Tse, Chin, and Chow followed, and Suy, the last, terminated a short existence in A.D. 622. In spite of these troubles, however, some of the emperors found time to coin money, but of course each, as he came into power, would be apt to make as many manifestations as possible to demonstrate his importance. I have a coin illustrative of this period, and numbered 26 in the collection, which is an interesting relic of that disturbed period. It bears on the obverse the characters (in seal) *Yung tung wan Kwoh* (the 10,000 kingdoms perpetually united). The reverse is charged with a tortoise, a sword, and seven stars. The tortoise is emblematical of eternity, the sword of vengeance, and the seven stars of the constellation Ursa Major. The Chinese attach especial veneration to two constellations named *Pei tow* and *Nan tow*; *Pei tow* is Ursa Major, *Nan tow* is Orion. The spirit of the southern constellation is supposed to keep the record of life, the northern constellation that of death. The object of the worship of this latter is, therefore, in most cases long life; and its appearance on Chinese money may be considered symbolical of the desire of the rulers to invoke the protection of the spirit. The reverse of this

coin bears, therefore, the symbols of eternity, heavenly protection, and vengeance on his enemies, bombastically emblematic of the good opinion which Seu en te, the fourth emperor of the Chin dynasty, who coined it A.D. 568, had of himself.

This collection possesses ten coins of this disturbed period, between the downfall of the Hans and the establishment of the "Tang" dynasty, which had a duration of 275 years, from A.D. 622 to 897, under twenty sovereigns. The money of this dynasty is difficult to obtain, but I have secured 1 of the first emperor; 3 of the seventh, Suy tsung, A.D. 746; 1 of Wan tsung, fourteenth emperor, 820; 10 of Hwuy Chang, the fifteenth emperor. These latter all have the same obverse, and are only distinguishable by the characters on the reverse.

Dismemberment again follows the ruin of this dynasty, and between this time and the foundation of the illustrious line of the Sung, the greatest dynasty that ever ruled over China, five petty lines of kings followed one another in rapid succession. They are called Woo taé, or the "five dynasties," and are named the *after* "Leang, Tang, Tsin, Han, and Chow," great houses of those names having already passed away. This collection possesses seven coins illustrative of these dynasties, which consecutively held sway over China from A.D. 897 to 950, in which year She Tsung, the second emperor of the "*after* Chow," dying, and leaving the throne to his son Kung te, only seven years of age, the generals of the army deposed him, and elected Kwang ying, an officer in the household of the deceased monarch, to the sovereignty. The bearers of the news found him in a state of complete intoxication. He called himself Tai tsoo, and founded the Sung dynasty. The Chinese say that arts and sciences reached their

climax during this illustrious period. Everything flourished, and certainly, in so far as regards the subject which immediately claims our attention, we may fairly believe this assertion to be true. At no time throughout the numismatic history of this vast empire will the coinage appear to have been so fine, pure, well marked, regular, and plentiful, as during this splendid period, when China was indeed in the zenith of its prosperity.

Before examining any coin which may be deserving of special observation, I will call your attention to the remark that it is not sufficient to have one coin of each designation of an emperor to make a collection complete. And in proof of this statement I will, at the risk of being tedious, run through a numerical list of the emperors of this line, and show about the number of designations each had, and the coins of such designation comprised in this collection, merely premising my observations by stating that the Sung dynasty had eighteen sovereigns.

With a further view of illustrating the differences, occasionally so trifling, which exist, I may mention that Nos. 125-6-8-9, 130-2-3, and 135, of the coinage of the Emperor *Hwuy Tsung*, dating 1100 to 1125, show the variations either on account of size or through the characters used being either what are here called "seal," "grass," "stiff," and "ordinary," and in the fact of their being sometimes read round the coin, and sometimes across. But as these coins are all blank on the reverse, others will presently be referred to which will show how, the coin being on the obverse, the same only differ by the characters on the reverse: These characters are of two different kinds—namely, those which have been put on with a view and for a purpose now forgotten or fallen into disuse, and those which bear a meaning perfectly

## COINS OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF THE SUNG DYNASTY.

No.	Reign.	Meaou Haou.	Kwoh Haou.	Year A.D.	Coins in Collection.
1		Tae Tsou	• Sung Yuen	952	50-1.
2		Tai Tsung	• Tai Ping	968	52.
			• Shun Hwa	972	53-4-5.
			• Che Taou	984	56-7-8.
			• Han Ping		59, 60-1.
3	984—1014	Chin Tsung	• King Teh		62.
			• Tseang Foo		63-4-5-6.
			T'een He		67-8.
			T'een Shêng	1014	69, 70-1.
			Ming Taou	1024	72.
			King Yew	1027	73-4.
4	1014—1063	Jen Tsung	• Hwang Sung	1032	75-6-7-8-9.
			King L'ê	1034	80-1.
			• Che Ho	1036	{ 82-3-4-5. 86-7-8-9, 90-1.
			• Kea Yew		
5	1063—1067	Ying Tsung	• Che Ping	1064	92-3-4-5.
6	1067—1085	Shin Tsung	• He Ning	1067	96-7-8-9 (1071) 100-1-2-3-4-5.
			• Yuen Fung	1080	106-7-8-9-10.
			• Yuen Yew		111-2-3-4-5.
7	1085—1100	Chih Tsung	• Chaou Shêng		116-7-8-9.
			• Yuen Foo		120-1-2-3-4.
			• Shêng Tsung		125-6-7-8.
			• Tsung Ning		129-30-1.
8	1100—1125	Hwuy Tsung	• Ta Kwan		132-3.
			• Ching Ho		134-5-6-7.
			• Senen Ho		138-9-40-1-2-3.
9	1125—1127	Kin Tsung	• Tsung Kang	1125	144.
			• K'ên Yen	1127	145-6-7 (in 1132) 148.
10	1127—1163	Kaou Tsung	• Shaou Hing	1132	149 (in 1140) 150-1 (in 1145) 152.
			• K'ên Taou	1163	153-4.
11	1163—1190	Heaou Tsung	• Lung Hing	1164	155-6.
			• Shun He	1176	157-8-9-60.
			• Chaou He	1181	161-2-3-4.
12	1190—1195	Kwang Tsung			Coined no money.
13	1195—1225	Ning Tsung	• King Yuen	1198	165-6-7.
			• Kea Tai	1205	168-9.
			• Kea He	1225	170-1.
			• Kea Ting	1229	172-3-4-5.
			• Ta Sung	1247	176.
			• Chaou Ting	1251	177-8.
14	1225—1265	Le Tsung	• Twan Ping	1258	179.
			• Kea He	1262	180.
			• Shun Yew	1262	181-2-3.
			• Hwan Sung	1264	184-5.
			• King Ting	1264	186-7.
15	1265—1275	Tou Tsung	• H'ên Shun	1271	188.

Making a total of 139 coins of this dynasty.

intelligible, and which in fact are so used in the present day.

The markings on the reverses of the coins of this period are principally numerals, and of this the coins 158, 161, of the reign of *Hea Tsung*, 1163, 1190, are examples.

No. 163 of the same series gives me also an opportunity of pointing out the crescent mark and spot so frequently met with on Chinese coins (Pl. I., Fig. 4). It combines both, although as a rule the marks occur separately. They are erroneously considered by some numismatists to represent the sun and moon, being nothing more than nail marks and vagaries of the Chinese artisans. The very words for them in the native language expresses the meaning literally: "*Kea tsz*," "nail characters." The moulds are made of clay, and when soft the workmen amuse themselves by pushing their nails into the clay, and so producing the crescent-marks here observed.

The spot is in like manner produced by "pricking" the soft clay with the end of the graver with which the characters are made. Finally, while considering the markings of coins, it may be well to exhibit No. 96 (Pl. I., Fig. 5) as an example of "starring" the holes of coins, which sometimes occurs.

No. 144 is a very rare coin of this dynasty. It is of the Emperor *Kin Tsung*, ninth emperor, who reigned scarcely two years.

As we approach the end of the dynasty, the apparently inevitable disintegration of the Empire ensues. With the Emperor *Too Tsung* the Sung dynasty may be said to have ceased. It is true there were three more Emperors, each of whom reigned about two years. But *Kublai Khan*, the founder of the *Yuen* dynasty (Mongols), had already commenced his attacks on the Empire. *Kung Tsung*, the six-

teenth emperor, a child, was drowned, and the other two nominal emperors were driven from place to place. From end to end the country was convulsed by war and rebellion; and the seven coins, 189 to 195 inclusive, must have been the issue of *Kublai Khan* and his generals. Some thirty or forty were altogether issued, many of the strangest description, but the greater portions have quite disappeared; 194 is shown as a specimen. (Pl. II., Fig. 2.)

We now come to the coinage of the *Yuen* dynasty, of which Mr. Williams, reading an account of certain Chinese coins before the Numismatic Society, on the 18th of December, 1862, says, "It is a very remarkable circumstance that there are here no coins of the *Yuen* dynasty, that which comes between the *Sung* and the *Ming*, and I may add, as worthy of notice, that in three collections which have lately passed through my hands, each should be totally deficient in the coins of that particular dynasty," &c.

As a comment upon this remark, I may state that the entire coinage of the *Yuen* dynasty is very scanty and very rare.

The first emperor's (*Kublai Khan's*) we have already considered.

*Ching Tsung*, the second emperor, coined one piece. *Woo Tsung*, the third emperor, in 1310 coined one piece, and in 1311 another, called *Ta Yuen* (No 197), here shown (Pl. II., Fig. 3). No. 197 is remarkable as being the only coin in the Mongolian character in the collection. *Jen Tsung* and *Ying Tsung*, the fourth and fifth emperors, each issued one piece of money. The sixth and seventh coined none. *Wan Tsung*, the eighth emperor, issued one; and *Hum Te*, the ninth and last emperor, who reigned thirty-five years, from



1338 to 1366, issued a great deal of money, called the *che ching* coinage, in eight varieties, differing merely in size and character at back, the obverse being always the same.

The sudden downfall of the Yuen dynasty hides in obscurity the beginning of that of the Mings, which rose on its ruins. All that can be said is, that Tai tsoo, the founder, historically commenced his reign in 1366, although probably much earlier, and that it finished in 1397.

Being of opinion that a tabular statement is best culculated to explain at a glance the coins of this and the succeeding dynasty (the Tsings), now reigning, I have arranged them in that form. A notice of the coinage of the disturbed period which intervened between these two races, will be found at the end of this paper.

#### COINS OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF THE MING DYNASTY.

N.	Reign.	Measou Haou.	Kwoh Haou.	Year. A.D.	Coins in Collection.
1	1366—1397	Tai Tsoo	• Ta Chung	1775	199, 200.
		"	• Ta E	to	201-2.
		"	• Hung Woo	1397	203-4-5-6-7-8-9-10.
2	1397—1401	Hwuy Te			Coined no money.
3	1401—1423	Ching Tsoo	• Yung Lo	1410	211. [extinct.
4	1423—1424	Ming Jen Tsung	• Hung He		Not represented. coin
5	1424—1434	Seuen Tsung	• Seuen Teh	1423	212. [presented.
6	1434—1448	Ying Tsung			Coined one piece, unre-
7	1448—1455	Tai Tsung			Coined no money.
8	1455—1463	Ying Tsung			
9	1463—1486	Heen Tsung			
10	1486—1504	Heaou Tsung	• Hung Che	1502	213.
11	1504—1520	Woo Tsung			Coined no money.
12	1520—1565	She Tsung	• Kea Tsing	1526	214-5-6.
13	1565—1571	Muh Tsung	• Lung King	1569	217.
14	1571—1619	Shen Tsung	• Wan Leih	1575	218-9-20-21.
15	1619—1620	Kwang Tsung	• T'ai Chang	1619	222.
16	1620—1627	He Tsung	• Teén K'e	1621	223-4-5-6-7-8-9-30-1
17	1627—1643	Chwang Leih	• Tsung Ching	1630	232 to 247 inclusive.

## COINS OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF THE TSING DYNASTY.

No.	Reigned.	Meaou Haou.	Kwoh Haou.	Year.	Coins in Collection.
	1616—1643	Tai Tsou	Teen Ming	1616	248.
1	1643—1661	She Tsou Chang	Sun che	1644—56	249 to 292 inclusive.
2	1661—1722	Shêng Tsou Jen	K'ang He	1661—92	293 „ 317 „
3	1722—1735	She Tsung Heen	Yung Ching	1722—34	318 „ 333 „
4	1735—1795	Kaon Tsung Shun	Keên Lung	1735—59	334 „ 352 „
5	1796—1820	Jen Tsung	Kea King	1796	353 „ 370 „
6	1820—1850	Seuen Tsung	Taou Kwang	1820	371 „ 383 „
7	1850—1861		Heen Tung	1850	384 „ 403 „
8	1862.		Tung Che	1862	404

Of the coins of the Ming dynasty, I present to you two as worthy of notice (Pl. I., Fig. 6, and Pl. II., Fig. 4), chiefly on account of their workmanship. They were coined by Tai Tsou, the founder of the Ming dynasty, 1375—1397; and also a large coin, bearing on the obverse the character *Teen Ke tung paou*, the Teen Ke coinage, and on the reverse the characters *shih leang*, ten taels (Pl. II., Fig. 5). It was issued by He Tsung, the sixteenth emperor of the Ming dynasty, who reigned from 1620 to 1627.

We now come to the money issue of the reigning dynasty, and under its earlier sovereigns it appears reduced to a more systematic form than at any other period of Chinese currency.

No. 248, here shown (Pl. II., Fig. 7), is a very curious one, being actually the first coin issued by the founder of the Tsings, when his success must have been a mere matter of conjecture, or even of grave doubt.

In 1618, the third year of Teen Ming, corresponding to the forty-fifth year of the Emperor Shin Tsung of the Mings, the Mantchoo prince solemnly laid before heaven seven great grievances which he and his nation had against China, for breach of treaty; committing depreda-

tions in their territory, stealing his daughter, robbing them of land, sending a special envoy with insulting and vilifying letters, and aiding and abetting his enemies; and, having then supplicated heaven for aid in his intended undertaking, he invaded China with 20,000 horse and foot. It was no sudden idea, this great invasion. Family traditions had favoured the supposition that they should become great rulers, and they had long been waiting for some colourable pretext for invading China. This came, and the Mantchoo prince, under his significant title of *Teen Ming* (by the authority or will of heaven), supported by an army of devoted and hardy followers, and encouraged by traitors in China and great internal disorganisation, was not long in establishing a footing in the country, from which all efforts failed to dislodge him. The Tartars securing China, and the Danes England, are similar cases. In consequence of our own trouble, we invited the Danes to come and help us. They came, liked the country, and kept it. In consequence of their troubles, the disaffected portion of the Chinese, headed by Woo san kwei, the celebrated general, invited the Tartars to come and help them. They came, liked the country, and kept it. It was at this period of the invasion, and in my opinion even before this, that the coin No. 248 was put in circulation. The supposition is favoured by the fact that the total inscription is in Mantchoo, and this would hardly be the case were it intended for the use of the conquered Chinese. It bears on the obverse the character *Apkai fullingha Hantziha*. These characters being respectively left, right, top, and bottom of the hole, and meaning "coins of the heavenly mandate period."

After much fighting, the Tsing dynasty actually commenced its course in the person of She tsoo, who is called

the founder of the line: His reign is computed at eighteen years, 1643 to 1661. No. 249 in this collection was the first issue of the new masters. On the obverse it bears the character *Shun che tung paou*, the Shun che coinage; and it may here be remarked that from this date the word "for coinage" is fixed as *Tung paou*, as is also its position at the sides of the hole. All coins are now read across. On the reverse are the characters *Paou tsiowan*, showing it to have been issued from the Board of Revenue in Pekin. The money from this mint served as a model for the various provincial coinage. The form of coin being now fixed, regular government mints were opened in the provinces under responsible officers, and models of the new coinage were supplied to them. In 1644 the model coin was cast both in the Board of Revenue Mint and in that of the Board of Works. In 1647 the Honan mint was working. In 1649 those of Fuchow, Ningpo, Shantung, and Che Kiang. In 1650 they were all working. These coins have over the hole, on the reverse, one character, giving in Chinese the name of the mint; but sometimes the character was put at the side.

In 1653 orders were issued at Pekin for an improvement in the workmanship of the coins, the various mints receiving instructions to issue a coin with two characters, —*yih-le*, "1.000 of a tael,"—on the reverse, accompanied by the names of the respective mints. A change, however, must immediately afterwards have been made, for in the same year we find an issue of coinage bearing on the reverse the name of the mint in Chinese, on the right of the hole, and the same word in Mantchoo character on the left.

In 1661 Kang-he, the second emperor, came to the throne, and in the following year all the provincial mints

were closed except Nanking, but were re-opened in 1667, and the coinage during the period was made on the latest model.

The next coin to which I shall call your attention is No. 316 (Pl. I., Fig. 8), a coin to all appearance resembling the other money issue of his reign, but yet bearing a history of its own which cannot fail to be interesting ; its peculiarity being that the character *He*, on the obverse under the hole, is wanting the line at the back on the left of the character. This coin is much sought after by the Chinese, who use it for making rings for the finger. It is called the Lo Han cash, the word "Lo Ha'n " being the transcript in Chinese character of the Sanscrit word "Arhan " (venerable), the name applied to the eighteen attendants of Buddha, frequently seen in Chinese temples. The current tradition is, that while the emperor was intimately associated with the European missionaries, he became imbued with a feeling of contempt for Buddhism, and had a set of eighteen brass Lo Han images melted down into cash. This brass is said to have contained a considerable portion of gold ; hence the great demand for the cash. It was issued by the Board of Revenue.

Yung Ching, as third emperor, ascended the throne in 1722, and from this date all coins issued in China proper bear inscriptions on the reverse entirely with Mantchoo character, except the large cash of the reign of Heen Fung further on.

Keen lung, fourth emperor, came to the throne in 1735. His coinage is of the same form and on the same model as that of his predecessor. No. 352 (Pl. II., Fig. 6) is remarkable from the fact of its having an Arabic word on it. It is very rare, and one of four which were cast for the use of the Mahommedan tribes of Sungaria, newly subjected

by this emperor in 1759, and bearing the names of the respective localities on the reverse. Previous to their subjection, they had certain coins of their own in use, but the policy of the Chinese caused them to be collected and melted up, Keen lung coins (*vide* specimen) being substituted for them. The other three coins issued bear respectively, in Mantchoo and Arabic, the names of the provinces Akso, Wooshih, and Kashgar.

Heen Fung, the last emperor, began to reign in 1850. The rebellion now about exterminated commenced in his reign. Its effects told heavily on the currency, which became scarce, various suggestions being made to meet the difficulty. One of the plans proposed, and carried into execution, was the issue of large cash, purporting to be of a certain value; which was, however, far above the intrinsic worth of the coin. Coins were cast by the Board of Revenue of the value nominally of 5, 10, 50, 100, 200, 300, 400, 500, and 1,000 cash. Those above 100 cash seem to have had a very limited circulation. The small specimens of the several values are probably illegal coinages, but they are in general circulation the same as the others. Both the legal and the illegal ones have always been reluctantly received by the people. In some places they will not pass at all. At others they are only taken for a given percentage of any payment. The gradual reduction in the size has almost effected their extermination as a circulating medium.

It now remains to consider the coins of that disturbed period between the decadence of the Mings and the establishment of the present dynasty. That period is represented in this collection by thirty coins, ranging in date from 1645 to 1675.

When the last emperor of the Mings died, in 1643, a

grandson of the old emperor, Shin Tsung, was elected sovereign by his adherents. He held his court at Nanking, and issued two coins.

Nos. 407 and 408 were issued at Foochowfoo, the capital of Fuh keen, in 1645, by a descendant of Tai tsoo, who styled himself the Prince of Tang, and the representative of the Ming dynasty. He selected Loong Woo as his Kwoh Haou, and these coins are so inscribed.

The following nine coins all bear the inscription *Yung lëe tung paou*. The so-styled Prince of Tang dying in 1646, another grandson of the Emperor Shin Tsung, calling himself the Prince of Kwei, seized the Imperial dignity, and established his court in the province of Kwang Tung, at Chaou King, whence he issued a great variety of these coins; fourteen altogether. The conquering Mantchoos lost no time in attacking this new enemy, and in the following year the city fell into their hands, the prince making his escape to Kweilin, in Kwang-si, which city, however, giving over to the custody of one of his generals, Keu shih sze, he in turn abandoned and fled into obscurity. Keu shih sze kept his hold on the city, and coined some money bearing the same impress as above. No. 414 is one of the pieces issued by him. On the reverse it bears the character *Kwoh*, "Kingdom," and was issued in conjunction with another coin which had *Foo*, "a governor, or ruler," making up the term *Foo Kwoh*, or vice-regent, indicative of his status.

Nos. 417 and 418 were coined in 1664 at Singanfoo, in Shenshi, by the celebrated Le-tsz-ching, who established his court there at that date.

The following two coins were made by Chang Heen Chung, another rebel, at Ching too foo, the capital of Szechuen, in 1644.

No. 421, here shown, was coined by a notorious rebel, Sun ko wang, who attempted to establish a government at Kwei yang, in the province of Kwei-chow, and there issued this coin, and three others of the same name, in 1655. The Chinese general Woo san kwei, the great defender of the Ming dynasty, who had defeated the rebel Le-tsz-ching, was still holding out in Yunnan, the extreme southwestern province, against the Mantchoos, in 1673, and there coined many pieces bearing the inscription *Le Yung tung paou*.

This collection contains five of this description. Subsequently Woo san kwei adopted the term *chaou woo* as a new national designation, and coined money with that inscription.

Three coins were issued by Woo-shih-fan, a grandson of Woo san kwei, after the death of the latter. They were from Kwei yang, in Kwei-chow. The name of the inscription is *Hung Woo*.

The last coin I shall bring to your notice is No. 433, a very handsome representative of a money issued in 1674, by Kang-tsing-chung, a chief who headed a rebellion in the eastern provinces of Kwanghing and Fuh keen, and which was repressed in two years from its commencement.

#### A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF COINAGE IN CHINA.

The manner in which money is now coined in China is identical with that in vogue 200 years before the Christian era; not a single stride has been made in advance,—nay, the Chinese have retrograded, for both in fineness of metal and finish the present issue of the mint is far inferior to that 200 years ago. The issue of money is, of course, a government monopoly, although there is an



enormous amount of spurious and debased money in circulation. The mint in the provincial capital of Tuhkien consists of four furnaces. Each furnace is placed under the charge of a superintendent, who, instead of being a government official, is a wealthy native merchant, who is frequently unwillingly compelled to serve in that capacity. He *must* lose by the distinction both in accepting or refusing it. In the latter case he is squeezed; as the saying is, "there is no compulsion, only you must." These superintendents are summoned to the duty by proclamation emanating from the provincial treasurer, and should their respectability, and above all, their means, be well assured, they will be confirmed in their office, and receive an annual salary of ninety-six taels (about £32). The amount of issue from each furnace is bound to be 900 strings of 1,000 cash each per month. There are three issues per month, at intervals of ten days each. Cash should weigh 1 tsen, 1 fun (1 mace, 1 candareen), the composition being seven parts of copper and three of lead. The composition and weight varies from time to time. During the past 200 years there have been many changes. During the reign of the first emperor of this dynasty the weight was fixed at 1 mace per cash, and immediately afterwards 2 candareens weight was added. In 1657 the weight was fixed at 1 mace, 4 candareens. In 1684 it was reduced to 1 mace, and in 1702 the weight of the 1657 issue was again assumed as the standard. In 1734 the weight was altered to 1 mace, 2 candareens. The government alloy used to consist of copper 50, zinc  $41\frac{1}{2}$ , lead  $6\frac{1}{2}$ , tin 2; afterwards equal parts of copper and zinc were used.

The issue of money is not continuous. Months and sometimes years elapse between the issues. When it is

necessary to coin money, some months in advance clay moulds are constructed and thoroughly dried. The obverse and reverse of the money to be cast is then cut in the mould, the obverse bearing the designation of the sovereign above and below the hole, with the words *tung paou* (coinage) on either side thereof, while the reverse has two Mantchoo characters, the one on the left of the hole signifying the Chinese word "paou" (mint), and the right hand character giving the name of the mint whence it is issued. There are two great mints in Pekin, namely, in the Board of Revenue and Board of Works, whence the coin is circulated to the various provincial mints for imitation. Most of the provinces have a mint established in the provincial capital, although from time to time the mints are closed. The characters being thus cut, the two parts of the mould are joined. Each mould contains twenty-seven coins, thirteen on each side and one at the top. The furnaces being heated, the alloy is carefully weighed out in its respective proportions, and being melted, is poured into the moulds. Time being allowed for the metal to cool, the mould is opened, and the cash "sword," as it is called, is taken out. One of these cash swords is here exhibited, showing the method by which the cash is made. The mould is broken up after each operation; defective coins are of course of frequent occurrence. The cash are now clipped off the stem and strung on slips of bamboo, and a workman, taking this in his hands, rolls the coins backwards and forwards on a flat stone until the edges are smoothed round. The coins thence pass through the office of the treasurer into circulation. Each workman at the mint furnaces has his particular duties, and receives about 200 cash (5*d.*) per day. The copper which is used in the coinage is brought

from Yunnan, the south-western province of China, in the following manner. Every three years the viceroy selects some officer who has already filled some subordinate government office, as that of a district magistrate, to proceed to Yunnan to procure the copper. The money for its purchase, as also the funds necessary for the various expenses of water carriage, portorage, &c., are drawn from the provincial treasury. This amount varies with the amount of copper required, but it has never been known to exceed 100,000 taels (£34,000 about). Having received the necessary funds, the officer takes his departure, and it is sometimes three or even five years before he can return. For these services he is invariably promoted. The great copper mines are all situated in one district, and the officers arriving for the metal from all parts of the empire establish their seniority by the time of arrival, an hour even giving the seniority. Each officer as he receives the quantity he requires takes his departure, and the next on the list is then served. The copper costs between 100 and 200 cash per pound (about 3*d.* to 5*d.* per pound), depending on the produce of the mine at the time of requisition. In bringing the metal down to Foochowfoo it is conveyed in boats through the provinces of Kwochao, Hoonan, and Kiangé; thence over the hilly borders of this province by porters, and being again shipped at Yeningfoo, is brought down to Foochowfoo.

H. F. W. HOLT,

H.M. Consular Service, China.

## NOTICE OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

In No. 5 (September—October) of the *Revue Numismatique* there are the following articles:—

1. "Letter to M. de Saulcy from M. F. de Pfaffenhoffen on some Byzantine Coins."

2. "Inedited Coins of the Crusades," by M. le Comte Melchior de Vogüé.

3. "Coin of Sidon of the 12th Century," by M. Adrien de Longpérier.

4. "Baill de la monnaie des terres souveraines de Chateau Regnault," by M. Bretagne.

5. "Inedited Coins of Passerano," by M. A. Morel Fatio.

In the *Chronique* is an account of a find of Roman coins discovered at Signy-l'Abbaye, in the Ardennes. The find consisted of 2,613 pieces, extending from the reign of Commodus to that of Gallienus.

In the *première livraison* of the *Revue Numismatique Belge* for 1866, there are the following articles:—

1. "Third letter to M. R. Chalon upon the Elements of Mussulman Numismatics," from M. F. Soret.

2. "Historical Jetons of the Collection of M. Vander Auwera" (second article), by M. Camille Picqué.

3. "Attempt at a Monograph of the Coins and Jetons of Corporations of the Pays-Bas having the right to bear arms (1530—1800)," by M. J. Dirks.

4. "The Medal of Francisco de Enzinas," by M. Renier Chalon.

In the *Correspondance* there is a letter from M. B. de Jongh to M. R. Chalon, on an inedited coin of Brabant.

In the *Mélanges* are notices of various numismatic publications.

In the *Nécrologie* is a long account of M. Frederic Soret, and brief notices of M. Celestino Cavedoni, M. de Gille, and M. le Duc de Blacas.

NORGES MYNTER I MIDDELALDEREN, SAMLEDE OG BESKREVNE AF C. I. SCHIVE. MED INDLEDNING AF C. A. HOLMBOE. Christiania, 1858—1865. Folio. Pp. lxxxiii. and 164, with 38 Plates.

WE are happy to announce the completion of this great work, which was commenced so long ago as 1858. It comprises the whole coinage of Norway, from its commencement under Olaf I., Tryggvesson, until the union with Denmark under Christian III., in 1537. The earlier coins of Norway are of interest to English

numismatists from their being such close imitations of our own Anglo-Saxon coins, with which the plundering Northmen had made themselves only too familiar; but even at a later date it is curious to trace the influence of the sterlings of our Henries and Edwards upon this continental coinage. The series of bracteates, for which we in England have no equivalents, is very remarkable, and the similarity of the designs upon some of them to those occurring on Gaulish coins and Saxon sceattas, and even on some of the inscribed stones of Northern Britain, is well worthy of notice as illustrating the tendency there is for certain artistic designs to reappear in different countries under certain conditions of civilisation. The introduction by Professor Holmboe is by no means the least valuable part of the book, and enters fully into the whole history of coinage in the North, the weights of the coins, the proportionate values of gold and silver, the places of mintage, the method of coining, and various other particulars. The chapters on prices, and on the legal values of different articles in former times in Norway, Sweden, and Iceland, are particularly curious. The English reader will find some interesting remarks on the same subject in Dasent's story of *Burut Njal*, vol. ii. p. 397.

THE SILVER TOKENS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, THE DEPENDENCIES AND COLONIES. By WILLIAM BOYNE, F.S.A. London, 1866. (Printed for subscribers only). Small 4to., pp. 68, with 7 plates.

MR. BOYNE is again in the field, and has filled up another gap in English numismatics; not, indeed, at the expense of so much labour as he bestowed in forming his "Catalogue of the Tokens of the Seventeenth Century," but still probably even more completely exhausting a more limited subject of inquiry. The tokens here described are about 360 in number, and range in date from the year 1736, when the practice of issuing silver tokens was commenced by some Irish tradesmen, down to the year 1813, when tokens were withdrawn from circulation by order of the Government. The solitary exception to this seems to be a sixpence issued in Natal, so recently as 1860, and this, though representing silver, is in brass, about the size of a farthing, and appears to have been struck to supersede counters of bone, which had been in circulation as sixpences previously, so great was the deficiency of small change. The tokens are divided into three series. 1. Those issued by the Bank of England and Ireland, the States of Jersey, and the Colonies. 2. The silver tokens prior to 1811. 3. Those issued in 1811 and 1812 by traders and overseers of the poor. Among them are included such tokens as represented a silver currency, though actually struck in copper. The work is beautifully printed and the plates carefully drawn.

## VI.

ON AN UNPUBLISHED COIN OF LAODICEA IN  
PHRYGIA,

BEARING THE NAME OF AN ASIARCH ;

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE OFFICE OF THE ASIARCHS, AND  
AN ENUMERATION OF THE PASSAGES IN ANCIENT AUTHORS,  
AND ALSO OF THE COINS AND INSCRIPTIONS WHERE THEY  
ARE MENTIONED.

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., F.L.S.

THE coin about to be described is one of the few autonomous coins on which the name of an Asiarch occurs. It belongs, however, without doubt to the imperial period, and may be placed in the reign of Caracalla ; as there are imperial coins of Laodicea, struck when he was emperor, bearing the name of the same Asiarch, as will be seen in the enumeration of the coins of the Asiarchs below.

*Obv.*—ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ. Laureated youthful draped bust of the people of Laodicea to the right, the hair falling down the neck in long tresses.

*Rev.*—ΕΠΙ Α. ΑΙΑ. ΠΙΤΡΗΤΟC ΑCΙΑΡΧΟΥ Γ. ; in the exergue, ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ. Female figure (Aphrodite?) to the left, seated on a throne, from the back of which depends drapery ; she holds in her right hand a disk or patera (apparently) to a winged genius before her ; and in her left hand a sceptre. Æ. Size 13. (From Chevalier Ivanoff's Collection, lot 592 in the Sale Catalogue. 1863.)

The flan of this fine coin bears the appearance of having been cast in a mould before it was struck. It is,  
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I believe, inedited, though it may have been known to Sestini (see his *Class. Gen.* p. 124).

As it is from coins that we derive a large part of our information about the Asiarchs, it may be interesting to numismatists in particular, as well to scholars in general, to take into consideration the various ancient testimonies respecting them. The only cities which struck autonomous coins whereon the names of Asiarchs occur, so far as I have been able to discover, are these:—

Cyzicus, Adramyttium, Smyrna, and Laodicea in Phrygia.

The names of the Asiarchs on all the coins of these places are Roman. I cannot determine the age of Aurelius of Cyzicus, or of Lucius Apollinarius of Adramyttium; Tertius of Smyrna and Pigres of Laodicea lived in the third century.

The Asiarchs are more frequently named on Greek imperial coins, but with one somewhat doubtful exception (Magnesia ad Sipylum), which belongs to the reign of Augustus, none of these are older than Antoninus Pius, while some are as late as Gallienus. These coins belong to the following cities:—

Pergamus, Abydos, Smyrna, Hypæpa, Sardis, Acmonia, Laodicea in Phrygia, Stectorium, Synaos; also to the Settæ or Sætteni in Lydia, and (probably) to Magnesia ad Sipylum; as well as to the Panionian assembly of the thirteen cities of Ionia.<sup>1</sup>

Besides these a Greek imperial coin of Temnos in Æolis

<sup>1</sup> This list may occasion some surprise both for what it contains and what it does not contain. We should hardly have expected so inconsiderable a place as Hypæpa to have produced Asiarchs; "Orta domo parva, parvis habitabat Hypæpis," is Ovid's account of Arachne; and we are still more surprised that

has been supposed by Mionnet, but erroneously, to bear the name of an Asiarch.

It will thus be seen in what cities of Roman Asia numismatic evidence proves Asiarchs to have existed; from other evidence we obtain incidental notices of Asiarchs in connection (of whatever kind) with various other places, as Thera,<sup>2</sup> Teos, Tichiussa, Miletus, Cos, Magnesia ad Mæandrum, Philadelphia, Thyatira, and more especially with Tralles and Ephesus.

But to proceed to the principal purpose of this paper. I shall now go on to state, so far as I am able, everything which can be known about the Asiarchs with certainty, and to distinguish this knowledge from that which is only speculation or probable inference.

The Asiarchs have long received much attention from learned men. Eckhel has devoted a dissertation to them, and he refers therein to what has been written by H. Valesius, A. Vandale, J. Masson, A. Rubenius, Ez. Spanheim, Siberius, Le Boze, Selden, Belley, and Mazzolenus,<sup>3</sup> whose treatises I have consulted, and of all which I

Ephesus, the metropolis of Roman Asia, in connection with which Asiarchs occur several times in inscriptions, and also in the New Testament in the only passage where they are mentioned at all, should not, among its very numerous coins, count so much as one which bears the name of an Asiarch. Possibly such a coin may one day be discovered. (It is true, indeed, that we have Asiarchal coins of the Panionian Assembly of the thirteen cities of Ionia, of which Ephesus was one.) Scarcely less strange is it that there are no coins of Tralles, bearing the names of Asiarchs. The coins of Hypæpa are of the time of Septimius Severus and Plautilla, when the rank of the Asiarchs was probably somewhat less exalted than in Strabo's time.

<sup>2</sup> The Asiarch named in the honorary inscription at Thera was the Asiarch of the Ephesian temples, and perhaps a native of Ephesus.

<sup>3</sup> *Doct. Vet. Num.*, vol. iv. pp. 207—212, where the works of the authors enumerated are named.



have made more or less use. Besides these, not a few other scholars have exercised their pens upon the Asiarchs, as Archbishop Usher,<sup>4</sup> Salmasius,<sup>5</sup> Hardouin,<sup>6</sup> Rasche,<sup>7</sup> Krause,<sup>8</sup> and also many of the commentators on the Acts, and those who have written lexicons or other works illustrative of the New Testament, among whom Grotius, Wetstein, Biscoe, Kuinoel,<sup>9</sup> Schleusner,<sup>10</sup> Winer,<sup>11</sup> Akerman,<sup>12</sup> and Smith,<sup>13</sup> may be mentioned by name, more especially as some of them refer to dissertations which I have not seen. The Lexicon of Roman Antiquities by Pitiscus, and the Greek Thesaurus of Henry Stephens, lately edited by Hase and Dindorf, contain numerous references to authors ancient and modern.

No one can have proceeded far in the investigation of this difficult subject without perceiving that many things are asserted without any misgiving, for which there is no authority whatever; thus Kuinoel, whom later authors

<sup>4</sup> In Mart. Polycarp., capp. 12, 21. (Cotel. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. pp. 198, 202. Antv. 1698.)

<sup>5</sup> Exercit. Plin., p. 566. Traj. ad Rhen. 1689.

<sup>6</sup> Numm. Ant. Illustrat., p. 423. Paris, 1684.

<sup>7</sup> Lex. Rei Numm., vol. i. pp. 1049, 1147, 1168—1171. Lips. 1785. This work, however, must be used cautiously, as several of the coins are misread.

<sup>8</sup> Neocoros, p. 71. Lips. 1844.

<sup>9</sup> In their notes on Acts xix. 31. Wesseling's separate Dissertation on the Asiarchs, and Ryn. Reynen's on the same subject, both printed at Utrecht, I have not seen. See Hase and Dindorf's edition of H. Steph. Thes. Ling. Gr. s.v. Ἀσιάρχης; and Böckh, Corp. Inscr. Gr. n. 3494.

<sup>10</sup> Lex. Nov. Test., s.v. Edin. 1814.

<sup>11</sup> Real-Wörterbuch, s.v. Asiarchen. He refers to several foreign Dissertations which I have not seen.

<sup>12</sup> Numism. Illustr. of N. Test., pp. 50—52. Lond. 1846.

<sup>13</sup> Dict. of the Bible, s.v. Asiarchæ (the article is by the Rev. H. W. Phillott). See also Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq., s.v.

(as Dr. Wordsworth<sup>14</sup>) transcribe without hesitation, gives an ample account of the mode of electing the Asiarchs, respecting which we do not possess one single particle of certain information, however *probable* may be the inference that they were elected in the same manner as certain other persons.<sup>15</sup> There are also various points about which much diversity of opinion prevails: whether the High-priest of Asia and the Asiarch were one and the same, or wholly different; or whether he were president of the College of the Asiarchs; or whether, in fine, there were more Asiarchs than one at one and the same time.

It seemed to me, therefore, quite necessary to endeavour to bring together, in the first instance, all the passages of ancient authors in which the Asiarchs are distinctly mentioned, all the inscriptions in which they occur, and all the coins which bear their names. So many scholars and

<sup>14</sup> Note on Acts xix. 31.

<sup>15</sup> It is amusing to observe with what confidence he writes, as though his statements were above all suspicion:—"Munus Asiarchæ annuum erat. Eligebantur hoc modo. Initio cujusque anni, i.e. sub æquinoctium autumnale, singulæ urbes Asiæ concionem habebant, in qua uni ex suis civibus Ἀσιαρχίας honorem deferebant. Tum unaquæque civitas legatum in certam urbem mittebat Asiæ proconsularis primariam, quales erant Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardes, aliæ, ad τὸ κοινὸν, commune gentis concilium, qui nomen ejus, qui domi electus erat, publice renuntiaret. Ex his quos singulæ urbes Asiarchas nominaverant, synedri nonnisi decem Asiarchas designabant, et ex horum numero Proconsul Romanus summum sacrorum præfectum eligebat. Dissentiunt autem interpretes in eo, utrum omnes in publico Asiæ concilio designati hoc numere simul perfuncti sunt, an vero unus duntaxat fuerit Asiarcha?" Comment, on Act xix. 31.) This is but slightly altered from Pitiscus (Lexicon, s.v. Asiarcha), who again has copied, like Hardouin, a good deal from H. Valesius, of none of whom Kuinoel takes any notice. In Kitto's Bibl. Cyclop., s.v. Asiarchæ, and in Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq. s.v., Kuinoel is referred to as a leading authority on the subject.

divines have occupied themselves with the matter, that the first part of the task was comparatively easy; the number of authors who have incidentally referred to the Asiarchs being small, and little likely to be materially, if at all augmented.<sup>16</sup> The second and third parts of the proposed labour are much more difficult. I have assumed that Böckh's "Body of Greek Inscriptions," and Mionnet's "Descriptive Catalogue of Greek Coins," contain what was known up to their own day; and after putting together the materials contained therein, have been able to make some additions to what they have collected; but I cannot reasonably hope that I have found every coin and every inscription which has been published since their time.<sup>17</sup>

Knowing that Mr. Waddington was occupied on Greek inscriptions, it occurred to me as probable that he might be in possession of some information which was not yet published; and having ventured to write to him upon the subject, I received a most polite reply, saying that he

<sup>16</sup> I was in hope that the Fathers and other early commentators on the Acts might have thrown some light on the matter. St. John Chrysostom, in one of his Homilies on the Acts (*n.* 42, tom. ix. p. 319, ed. Venet. 1741), quotes the verse in which the word Asiarch occurs, but makes no remark upon it. Similarly Theophylact (*Op.*, tom. iii. pp. 147, 286, ed. Venet. 1758) and Oecumenius (p. 170, ed. Athen. 1842), commentators on the Acts, quote the verse, and say nothing. Among the Latins, St. Gregory the Great cites the words in one of his *Moralia* on Job (*Op.*, tom. i. p. 1023, ed. Bened.), following the Vulgate rendering of Asiarchs ("principes Asiæ").

<sup>17</sup> Mr. Phillott (*Smith's Dict. of the Bible*, s.v. *Asiarchæ*) mentions Aphrodisias in Caria as being one of the places on whose coins or inscriptions the names of Asiarchs occur. I do not know of any such coin or inscription, but have little doubt that he had in his eye an inscription published in *Fellows' Lycia* (p. 327, *n.* 37), where a high-priest of Asia is mentioned who is there said to be "perhaps identical with the Asiarcha." See also Böckh, *n.* 2741.

had recently, in a note on an inscription of Lebas, put together everything of importance which he could discover about the Asiarchs.<sup>18</sup> As soon as a copy could be procured, I eagerly read his erudite and sagacious observations; and though they did not contain an allusion to any passage in an ancient author in which Asiarchs are named, with which I was unacquainted, nor even to any monumental evidence<sup>19</sup> (one coin in Mionnet excepted, which I had accidentally passed over) which was new to me, though one Ephesian inscription was materially amended from his own personal examination, yet I had the satisfaction of perceiving that on one or two of the most perplexing points of the inquiry, we had arrived at the same conclusions. Moreover I thought that my labour in collecting the materials<sup>20</sup> was not wholly thrown away, as it might be interesting to many persons to have them brought together in one view; more especially when it is borne in mind that the knowledge of ancient inscriptions and coins, which we now possess, is much greater than what was open to scholars half a century or even a quarter of a century ago.

The earliest certain notice<sup>21</sup> that we obtain of the Asiarchs is in Strabo, who wrote his geographical work about twenty years (perhaps both more and less) after the Christian era.

<sup>18</sup> On n. 885 of the inscriptions of P. Lebas, in which an ἀρχιεὺς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Περγᾶμυ is mentioned. The first part of Mr. Waddington's Commentary contains an instructive account of the High-priest of Asia, whom he distinguishes from the Asiarch.

<sup>19</sup> His reference to Böckh, 3246, is erroneous.

<sup>20</sup> Several of these, including one or two of considerable importance, are not noticed by Mr. Waddington.

<sup>21</sup> I cannot undertake to say that no inscription or autonomous coin bearing the name of an Asiarch may be older; but I see no reason to think so.

His testimony, however, reaches considerably further back, as he mentions Pythodorus, who was one of the Asiarchs of Tralles, as being the friend of Pompey, and the father of Pythodoris, who was the Queen of Pontus (successively married to Polemon I., and Archelaus, King of Cappadocia) at the time when he wrote. As Pompey's death occurred B.C. 48, we may say that Pythodorus held the office of Asiarch about the middle of the first century B.C. We may, however, very reasonably infer from analogy that the office of Asiarch was considerably more ancient, and probably took its origin at least as early as the times of the kings of Pergamus.<sup>22</sup> This at least we know from Strabo himself: the Lyciarch, whose mode of election he describes, had formerly the right of making peace and war and alliances for his country; but under the Romans, he adds, this power was taken away, or only exercised by their express permission.<sup>23</sup>

The form of the name Asiarch (resembling that of Galatarch, Bithynarch, Cappadocarch, Pontarch, Syriarch, Lyciarch, Phœnicarch, Cypriarch, Arabarch, and the Egyptian Thebarch,<sup>24</sup> officers obscurely known to us from inscriptions, and a few other notices, which occur principally

<sup>22</sup> "Ἀσιάρχης significat eum qui præest Asiæ, nempe ei quæ olim ditio regum Pergamenorum, subinde Romanis subjecta, proconsularis Asia dici consuevit." Wesseling, *De Asiarchis* (Traj. 1753), cited in Hase and Dindorf. *Thes. Gr. Ling.*, s. v. Mr. Phillott (in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. Asiarchæ) thinks that the Asiarchate "probably represented the religious element of the Panionian League, to the territorial limits of which also the circle of the functions of the Asiarchs nearly" (vix) "corresponded. See Herod. i. 112." See the coins of the Panionian assembly below, where the Asiarch and High-priest of the thirteen cities is mentioned.

<sup>23</sup> Lib. xiv. c. 3, § 3.

<sup>24</sup> Some slight account of the Thebarch, an officer of the Ptolemæan age, may be seen in Böckh, *Corp. Inscr. Græc.* vol. iii. pp. 293, 1185.

in the Roman law) would naturally lead us to suppose that they originally possessed great political power of some kind; of which, however, we find little trace in the Roman period.<sup>25</sup> At the time when Strabo wrote, the Asiarchs were the principal persons of the province, and men of large fortune; and for that very reason some of them were generally chosen from the opulent city of Tralles in Lydia. Menodorus, an Asiarch of Tralles a little before he wrote, executed by Domitius Ahenobarbus on suspicion of revolt, was a man of importance, who also was priest of Jupiter at Larissa. We find the Asiarchs in connection with the games<sup>26</sup> in subsequent notices; Philip of Tralles, an Asiarch,<sup>27</sup> who was also a high-priest (perhaps of Asia), presided at the games when Polycarp was martyred at Smyrna,<sup>23</sup> about the middle of the second century, or a little later; the people present desired him to let a lion loose at Polycarp, but as the combat with wild beasts was

<sup>25</sup> "Asiarchiæ dignitas tum major tum minor esse poterat, civitatis, temporis, amicitiae cum Romanis junctæ ratione habita. Sine dubio initio amplior ejus auctoritas, major ejus potestas atque dignitas fuit quam seriore ætate, qua complures hoc munere et titulo uti solebant, ut nummi testantur. Posteaquam quæque Asiana civitas nova munera expetere, novis titulis honoribusque gaudere cœperat, Lyciarchæ etiam, Bithynarchæ, Galatarchæ exorti sunt, ad exemplum Asiarcharum, ut videtur, creati; Lyciarchæ quidem Strabonis ætate jam dudum exstiterunt." (Krause Neocoros, p. 72. Lips. 1844.) The Cypriarch is mentioned in 2 Macc. xii. 2; and is therefore as early as the middle of the second century B.C.

<sup>26</sup> These games were called Κοινὰ τῆς Ἀσίας, and were celebrated under the authority of the Confederation of the Roman province of Asia (Commune Asiæ, Κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας); for which see a note further on, and also Valesius on Eusebius, Hist. Eccl., lib. iv. c. 13, § 1 and § 4.

<sup>27</sup> Rufinus, who lived in the fourth century, when Asiarchs still existed, does not hesitate to render Ἀσιάρχης by *municiparius*: in his own time the Asiarch was probably little else.

now over, he was unable to comply with their request, and the saint was accordingly burnt to death. We have also several sepulchral monuments to the "families" or troops of gladiators, of uncertain date, but of Roman times, kept by Asiarchs; as by Nemerius Castricius Paconianus in Cos, by Plotinus Aurelius Gratus at Cyzicus, and by L. Timon at Smyrna.

In the last notice of the Asiarchs as actually existing, —viz., in a rescript of the Emperors Honorius and Theodosius to Anthemius, dated A.D. 409—we find the Asiarchs mentioned in direct connection with the games (*ludorum festivitas*), and although the people are forbidden to shout out the names of the other principal persons present, yet exceptions are made in strangely bombastic phraseology in favour of the "Alytarchs, Syriarchs, agothetæ, and also the Asiarchs and others, whose names the votive solemnity of the festivity will dedicate." We cannot doubt that the expenses of the games fell wholly or in part on the Asiarchs, though we have no distinct information on this subject.<sup>29</sup>

His contemporary and enemy, St Jerome, renders the same word in the Acts by *principes Asiæ*.

<sup>28</sup> Aristides, in a scene laid at Smyrna, speaks of the Asiarch as present. The games in connection with the Commune Asiæ were probably held there not unfrequently.

<sup>29</sup> Libanius (Epist. 1217) says that the Syriarch incurred great expenses for the games in providing wild beasts and combatants. We read in Malala, who derived his information from Domninus, of one Artabanus, who in Commodus' reign was nominated first Syriarch. (Joannes Malal. Chronogr., lib. xii. p. 285. Corp. Script. Byz. ed. Niebuhr.) The same Artabanus apparently (though called in the MSS. Artabanus the Alytarch) spent vast sums, after the Olympian coronation at Daphne was concluded, in scattering what he called "political loaves" to the people. A statue was erected to him at Daphne. (Ibid., p. 289.) By a decree of the same emperor, Aphronius was elected first Alytarch at Antioch. Wearing his official robes as Alytarch,

By the Roman law they could not be charged with the duties of a *tutela* so long as their functions lasted.<sup>30</sup>

Other notices bring the Asiarchs before us as taking part in various public works. Thus in an inscription of Smyrna, now at Oxford, Chersiphron the Asiarch undertakes the laying out of the gardens for the palm-grove at Smyrna. Sometimes they were concerned in the erection of honorary monuments; as Crispus the Asiarch examined the accounts for the erection of a statue to the Emperor Caracalla at Magnesia, on the Mæander; Apollodorus, an Asiarch, and a man of senatorial rank, in conjunction with the most honourable (*ἀξιολογωτάτου*) Claudius Bassus, undertook the erection of an honorary statue at Miletus; Numatius, the scribe and Asiarch of Ephesus, paid the expenses towards erecting a monument in honour of M. Julius Aurelius Dionysius, who had been himself twice Asiarch.

It is not surprising to find in various notices of another kind, public honours paid to Asiarchs, as the office was held by men of great estimation. Thus, in an inscription of Thyatira, an honorary statue is raised to Annianus the Asiarch, chief priest of the Emperors, who is called "the best man of the most illustrious nation of Asia, and the first man of his country" (*i.e.* Thyatira); and in another, at Philadelphia, M. Aurelius Manilius Alexander is designated as "the most honourable

he was worshipped as Jove: he had on a snow-white stole ornamented with gold, a costly crown on his head, an ebony sceptre in his hand, and white sandals on his feet. (*Ibid.*, 286, 287.) The same author tells us that the Emperor Diocletian celebrated the Olympian games in the habit of an Alytarch, except that in place of the white silk robe of the Alytarch, he wore a gown of purple; and beheld the games with the sacred staff in his hand, and made adoration to the people at Antioch. (*Ibid.*, p. 310.)

<sup>30</sup> See the quotation from Modestinus.



(ἀξιολογώτατος) Asiarch.” So proud indeed were men to have had their fathers or grandfathers Asiarchs, that this relationship is not unfrequently expressed upon the monuments on which their names occur. Thus in an inscription of Tichiussa, in Ionia, communicated recently by Captain Graves to M. Lebas, M. Antonius Antiochus, the Asiarch, is designated as the son of Antonius Apollodorus, the Asiarch, and also as the grandson of Antonius Apollodorus, the Asiarch. On a coin of Acmonia, in Phrygia, occurs the name (as I read it) of Fl. Priscus, junior, the son of an Asiarch. Aurelia Julia Menelais, who undertook the office of Mistress of the Horse<sup>31</sup> (ἱππαρχοῦσα) at Cyzicus, is stated in an inscription at that place to have been the daughter of Aurelius Menelaus, the Asiarch.

There is one other function, of a sacerdotal character, pertaining to the Asiarchs, which has created considerable perplexity. Modestinus, a jurist of the third century, speaks of the Asiarchate, Bithyniarchate, &c., as “a national priesthood;” and his words have naturally given rise to the belief that the office of Asiarch and of the High-priest of Asia were either one and the same, or else that the High-priest was at the head of the College of the Asiarchs.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> This seems a strange office for a woman: perhaps she was a lady-patroness of the cavalry, or something of the sort.

<sup>32</sup> It must be owned that there are a few passages in ancient authors where it is not very easy to say whether the Asiarch or High-priest of Asia be intended. The “sacerdotes præsides” of Tertullian (De Spect., c. 11) “et ἀρχιερεῖς et Asiarchæ esse potuerunt, quum utrisque officium sollemnibus ludis præsidenti injungi soleret.” (Krause, Neocoros, p. 72.) The κοινὴ ἱερωσύνη τῆς Ἀσίας which was offered to Aristides (Orat. de Sacr., iv.) has been understood to mean the Asiarchate; but I much prefer, with Mr. Waddington, to understand it of the high-priesthood of Asia. The words of the Digest (lib. l. tit. v. c. 8) are also ambiguous, where it is said that those who have five children “in Asia provincia (provinciæ, al.) sacerdotium suscipere non coguntur.” (Corp. Jur. Civ., tom. i. pt. 2, p. 1110, ed. Beck.)

Specious as this opinion is, two inscriptions (4016 and 4031 of Böckh) seem to prove the contrary. One of them, which is of the age of Caracalla, mentions T. Fl. Gaianus, a Roman knight, who was "high-priest of the commune Galatarum, Galatarch, and flamen of Augustus;" another mentions Ælius Macedo, as "high-priest of the commune Galatarum and Galatarch." As, then, the office of High-priest of Galatia and of the Galatarch were not identical, so we conclude it to be almost certain that the office of the High-priest of Asia and of the Asiarch were similarly not identical. We are not, however, wholly dependent upon analogy. An inscription of Smyrna mentions M. Aur. Zeno and M. Cl. Juliana (probably his wife) as twice Asiarchs. This is the only example which I have seen of a woman being named as an Asiarch. But examples are frequent where women were High-priestesses of Asia. Thus we have M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus, whose father was High-priest of Asia, and whose wife was also High-priestess of Asia, though it does not appear that he himself enjoyed that honour. There are other instances of the same kind.<sup>33</sup> The female Asiarchs are so very rare compared with the High-priestesses of Asia, that this very circumstance leads us to suspect that all the functions of the Asiarchs would not be very naturally discharged by women.<sup>34</sup> Nor is this all. An inscription of Cyzicus mentions Plot. Aur. Gratus Asiarch, and Julia Aur. Asclepiodora, his wife, High-priestess. The contrary not appearing, I should certainly suppose that she was High-

<sup>33</sup> Böckh., n. 2782. See also n. 2823, 3092, 3211, 3415, 3508.

<sup>34</sup> When Strabo calls the Asiarchs the leading men of the province, he intimates that they figured prominently in public affairs, such as the debates in the Commune Asiæ.

priestess of Asia, and that her office differed from her husband's. A precisely similar inscription from Cos speaks of the husband as Asiarch, and of the wife as High-priestess. Again, we read in another inscription of "G. Julius Julianus Tatianus, who was Asiarch, and High-priest for life" (probably of Asia) "son of Julius Hippianus and Cornelia Secunda, High-priests of Asia." Upon the whole we can feel no doubt that the offices of Asiarch and of High-priest of Asia were not the same, although both might be held by the same person. But wherein did they differ? Mr. Waddington thinks that the office of the High-priest of Asia was originally almost or quite confined to the *cultus* of the Emperors, as performed in the temples raised to them by the *Commune Asiæ*, of which the temple at Pergamus, erected to Rome and Augustus, was the earliest example;<sup>35</sup> while in the fourth century they certainly exercised a kind of jurisdic-

<sup>35</sup> The earliest inscriptions, according to Mr. Waddington, which mention the High-priest of Asia, are of the reigns of Tiberius and Nero. We know that the Asiarchs existed long before this, and even before the empire. The *Commune Asiæ*, however, need not necessarily be earlier than Augustus, when we first hear of its existence, as he observes; it may, I should suppose, be a Roman modification of an earlier Hellenic confederation, such as existed in various parts of Asia in early times. Krause remarks that (in Roman times) a confederation (*κοινὸν*) of several cities was often formed to celebrate the games which occurred at stated intervals at their common expense; those were called *κοινὸι Ἀσίας ἀγῶνες, πρῶτα κοινὰ Ἀσίας ἐν Σμύρνῃ*, &c. These confederations also undertook the care of certain temples, as may be conjectured from the representations of temples on coins inscribed *κοινὸν Βειθυνίας*, &c.; "Supremam *τῶν κοινῶν τῆς Ἀσίας* curam Asiarchæ suscipere solebant, quibus *ἀρχιερεῖς τῆς Ἀσίας* et *ἀργυροπορίαι τῆς Ἀσίας* erant additi, quod ex lapidibus inscriptis maxime apparet (Böckh, Corp. Inscr., n. 2782). E nummorum etiam titulis conjicere possumus Asiarcham *τῷ κοινῷ Ἀσίας* præsidem fuisse constitutum, ut ex

tion over the other priests, like an archbishop over his suffragan bishops. This seems highly probable; but when he limits the sacerdotal functions of the Asiarchs to the games, he fails to convince us. "The presidency of the games" (he says) "in ancient times had necessarily a sacred character. One might say perfectly well that the Asiarchia was a national priesthood,<sup>36</sup> without in any way assimilating it to the high-priesthood of Asia." But an inscription of Thera, of which he has taken no notice, expressly connects the Asiarch's office with the temples. We therein read of a T. Fl. Cleitosthenes Julianus, who is called "Asiarch of the temples in Ephesus"—i.e. doubtless of those which belonged to the *Commune Asiæ* in Ephesus. He probably exercised, as one of the leading men in the province, a general control over the temples, such as looking after their repair and good order, contributing to the expense of the sacrifices, and also seeing (it may be) that the High-priest of Asia, and the other functionaries, per-

illo Sardiniano nummo ΕΠΙ ΟΥΕΤΘΝΙΑΝΟΥ. ΑCΙΑΡΧΑ, in corona deinde ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΑCΙΑC ΑΠΑΙΑΝΩΝ ΔΙC ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ." (Neocoros, pp. 69—71.) The Asiarchs are often mentioned on coins of cities which were also νεωκόροι—i.e. which had the care of the *cultus* of the emperors; but also on others—e.g. Hypæra—which never seem to have had this honour: "Hinc colligi potest Asiarchas opulentos *sacrificiorum ludorumque* cum neocoria conjunctorum splendorem haud raro ex suis opibus auxisse." (Ibid., p. 72.)

<sup>36</sup> It is indeed quite true that the superintendence of the games was called a priesthood in consequence of some religious ceremonies being connected with them; and in the Basilica we have τὴν ἱερωσύνην explained by ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ κυνηγέσια. See Rubenius as above, p. 1360; and Usher's note on the Acts of the Martyrdom of Polycarp, c. 21. "On offroit des sacrifices," says Belley, "avant la célébration des jeux, qui faisoient partie du culte; l'Asiarque, qui en étoit le souverain modérateur, étoit censé faire des fonctions sacerdotales; mais à proprement parler, il n'étoit ni prêtre ni pontife des temples." (Mém. de Litt. de l'Acad. des Inscr., t. xviii. p. 150.)

formed their duties properly.<sup>37</sup> But on this very obscure and difficult matter it is impossible to lay down anything with certainty.

As the Asiarchs continued to exist in Christian times as late as the fifth century, being named in a rescript of Honorius and Theodosius, as has been already mentioned, it is manifest both that their connection with heathen temples must then have ceased, and also that so much of the ceremonies of the games as partook of an idolatrous character must then have been abolished. It is probable that the office itself had fallen into desuetude about a century later, for we find the Emperor Justinian speaking of the analogous offices of Phœnicarchs and Syriarchs as no longer existing.<sup>38</sup> It is, at all events, certain that in the tenth century, when Constantine Porphyrogenitus reigned and wrote, it had so long fallen into abeyance that the learned emperor could commit the portentous error of supposing that Asiarch and Proconsul were synonymous terms.

It has been frequently disputed whether there were more

<sup>37</sup> Selden ingeniously conjectures that the Prefect is made by Prudentius to call St. Laurence, the chief Deacon, a Mysteriarch, in reference to the functions of the Asiarchs and similar officers:—

“ Bene est quod ipse ex omnibus  
Mysteriarches incidit.”

(Prudent. Peri Steph. 2 de S. Laurent., v. 349.)

“ Non aliter fere se habuere forsā Asiarchæ, Bithynarchæ et qui id genus alii ad sacra quæ diximus et proventus Gentilitatis sacros, quam S. Laurentius ad Christianorum thesauros.” (Selden, Ad Marm., Oxon. p. 97; ed. Prideaux, Oxon. 1676.) A religious analogy of some sort is probably intended.

<sup>38</sup> Ταῦτα οὐ προσέμεθα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀχρηστίας ἀνήρται. Φοινικαρχῶν γὰρ καὶ Συριαρχῶν . . . μέμνηται κ. τ. λ. (Novel., 89, c. 15; Corp. Jur. Civ., t. ii. pars ii. p. 436, ed Beck. Lips. 1836.)

than one Asiarch at the same time. The only natural interpretation of Strabo's words is that there were several at once; he tells us that *some* of the Asiarchs were *always* (probably meaning *commonly*) taken from the city of Tralles. St. Luke's remark that "*some* of the Asiarchs" who were the friends of Paul advised him not to adventure himself into the theatre at Ephesus leads to the same conclusion.<sup>39</sup> Moreover it is certain that Ephesus at any rate had sometimes an Asiarch of its own. We have already seen that T. Fl. Cleitosthenes was "Asiarch of the temples in Ephesus." An Ephesian inscription, carefully examined and verified by Mr. Waddington, calls T. Fl. Manatius "town-clerk and Asiarch of the first and greatest metropolis of Asia and city of the Ephesians, who were twice appointed the Neocori (temple-wardens) of the Emperors."<sup>40</sup> In an inscription from Smyrna we have M.

<sup>39</sup> The conjecture of some learned men (e.g. H. Valesius on Euseb. Hist. Eccl. iv. 15) that those who had been Asiarchs once always bore the title, rests upon nothing at all, so far as I can see, except on the supposed analogy of the Jewish high-priest. The presence of several Asiarchs at Ephesus at the same time strongly leads us to suspect that the games (*κοινὰ Ἀσιας*) were then being celebrated there. We know from coins that the Commune *Asiæ* assembled at Ephesus, as well as at Pergamus, Sardis, and Smyrna (Eckhel, iv. 428), and we have Asiarchal coins of them all, Ephesus excepted. The argument from the Acts of the Martyrdom of Polycarp, which Valesius employs, is worthless: "Ubi Polycarpus dicitur passus esse sub Philippo Asiarcha . . . ; nam si plures erant Asiarchæ, non unus tantummodo nominari debuit." The words of the original are—ἐπὶ Φιλίππον ἀρχιερέως. But Valesius supposed the ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας to be a synonym of Asiarch.

<sup>40</sup> See Mr. Waddington's remarks in reply to Eckhel. I have but little doubt (with all deference to Eckhel) that the inscription on the reverse of the coins of the Panionian Assembly is to be interpreted thus: that Fronto was Asiarch of the thirteen cities of Ionia (of which Ephesus was the chief), and also high-priest of the same thirteen cities. They are enumerated by Eckhel, vol. ii. p. 507. The Asiarch of Ephesus may have been Asiarch of the other twelve cities also, but on this point it is necessary

Aur. Zenon and M. Cl. Juliana called "Asiarchs for the second time." There are also other indications, partly uncertain, partly requiring verification, which tend to the conclusion that there were more Asiarchs than one at once.<sup>41</sup>

to speak with caution. He would, in any case, only be concerned with those Ephesian temples which belonged to the Commune Asiæ. According to Wesseling, "Asiarcha sacer tantum magistratus fuit, qui præerat sacris, non quidem singularum civitatum, nam hæ propria habuere sacra et ministros, sed quæ constituta fuere totius provinciæ nomine, et jam in hac, jam alia urbe peracta." (Cited in Hase and Dindorf, u. s.)

<sup>41</sup> The inscription from Smyrna, copied by Mr. Arundell, ending Τίμωνος Ἀσιάρχου νεώτερου, is understood by him to mean that Timon was the *junior* Asiarch. (Discoveries in Asia Minor, vol. ii. p. 374, Lond. 1834.) I have not been able to discover a satisfactory instance of this use of νεώτερος in the official sense of *junior*. There is a mutilated inscription (n. 3153, Böckh) which has the word in the same position: Ἡρώ . . . φόρος νεώτερος. It occurs often in the other sense of *junior* (see Böckh., n. 3065, 3097, 3240, &c.); and notwithstanding the strangeness of its location in the Smyrnæan inscription, I fear that it only means Timon *the younger*. There are some coins said to read ΑCΙΑΡΧΑ (see the Catalogue). This reading, as a form of the genitive (in imperial times), is exceedingly improbable; but whether it should be ΑCΙΑΡΧ. Α. the *first* Asiarch, or ΑCΙΑΡΧ. Δ. Asiarch for the fourth time, can only be determined by careful inspection. Eckhel (iv. 211) is too dogmatic in saying that no Ἀσιάρχης πρῶτος is ever mentioned. Συριάρχης πρῶτος and Ἀλυτάρχης πρῶτος certainly occur. (Joh. Mal. Chronogr., lib. xii. pp. 285, 286; Corp. Script. Byz. ed. Nieb.) The Latin version indeed renders *tum primum*, but incorrectly, as I think. The words of one passage run thus: καὶ ἐνθάδε τότε (in Commodus' reign) ὀνομάσθη Συριάρχης πρῶτος Ἀρταβάνιος πολιτευόμενος, προβλήθεις ἀπὸ τῶν κτητόρων καὶ τοῦ δήμου παντός. With regard to a coin of Sardis of the time of Gallienus, which reads ἐπὶ Δομ. Ρούφου Ἀσιάρχου καὶ υἱοῦ β. Ἀσιάρχου, I had supposed it to mean that it was struck when Domitius Rufus was Asiarch, and when his son was also Asiarch for the second time. In that case we should have two Asiarchs at once. But Mr. Waddington, to whose judgment and scholarship I cannot but assign great weight, considers that it means that Rufus was son and grandson of an Asiarch. If υἱοῦ is Rufus himself, I think it must mean that he was son of one who

With regard to the mode of election of the Asiarchs we have no direct information. We know from Strabo that the Lyciarch was first elected in the assembly (*συνέδριον*), made up from delegates of the cities of Lycia, and that the election of the other magistrates followed.<sup>42</sup> It is therefore highly probable that the Asiarchs were similarly elected by the delegates of the cities of Roman Asia who made up the *Commune Asiæ*. We know also from Aristides how the High-priest of Asia (for his office seems to be intended by the *ἡ ἱερωσύνη ἡ κοινὴ τῆς Ἀσίας*) and the Irenarch were elected, or rather some particulars of their election, which may be related thus, nearly in a translation from Mr. Waddington's words: "The cities of the province nominated the delegates (*σένεδροι*) to a general assembly; we do not know whether they all had this right, or whether it was reserved to the important towns only; the general assembly (*τὸ συνέδριον τὸ κοινὸν*) was that of the *κοινὸν Ἀσίας*, and was held sometimes in one city and sometimes in another; the names of the candidates were submitted to the assembly, and a list of those who had most votes was drawn up. It appears certain that this list had to be submitted to the Proconsul, and that he made his choice from the names presented to him, for this course was pursued in the case of a much less important officer, the Irenarch."<sup>43</sup> It is not unreasonable to suppose with had been twice Asiarch. The interpretation of the legend is too uncertain, as it now seems to me, to be relied upon in support of any theory.

<sup>42</sup> Lib. xiv. c. 3, § 3.

<sup>43</sup> The authorities named are Aristides, Orat. xxvi. pp. 344—346; Ibid., p. 338. The other passages of ancient authors which mention the *ἀρχιερεῖς τῆς Ἀσίας*, according to Mr. Waddington, are these: Philostr. Vit. Soph. i. 21, 2; Julian, Epist. 49, 63; Papinian, in Digest. l. 5, 8. Besides these, however, are numerous inscriptions; and among them an Epigram in the Anthology, beginning *Ἀσίδος ἀρχιερεῖα*, where Jacobs understands, as many have done before him, that the Asiarch and the



Mr. Waddington that the election of the Asiarchs may have been made in a similar manner; but we must bear in mind that it is a supposition only. We know for certain that the Asiarch when elected did not in general (perhaps not in any instance) retain his office for life. Asiarchs were elected for the second time frequently;<sup>44</sup> occasionally, as in the case of Pigres of Laodicea in Phrygia, for the third time; and perhaps even, as Cornelius Vettianus of Sardis, for the fourth time.<sup>45</sup> Whether the Asiarch was elected for one or more years of office we do not know.<sup>46</sup>

This account comprises all the information which I have been able to discover respecting the Asiarchs; it is meagre and incomplete indeed, but it is better that it should so be than that it should affect a completeness not its own by mingling certainties with uncertainties, historical notices with subjective speculations.

ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας are all one (tom. iv. p. 277, and tom. xii. p. 313, ed. Jacobs). The extreme paucity of coins where a high-priest of Asia is mentioned is remarkable, when contrasted with the frequent occurrence of the Asiarchs on coins; I know only one, which is of Eumeneia in Phrygia, in the time of Nero.

<sup>44</sup> Similarly, we have Sulpicius, δις Γαλατάρχης. (Böckh, n. 4075, and 4076.)

<sup>45</sup> The reading requires verification: it may be ACIAPX. Δ., or ACIAPX. A.

<sup>46</sup> Valesius on Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. iv. 15) supposes the office to be annual, whom Eckhel and Jacobs (as above) follow. Rubenius, however, supposes that the Commune Asiæ held its sessions every five years; and if so, and if the Asiarch was appointed by them, we can hardly doubt that his office was quinquennial. See his dissertation, De Urbibus Neocoris. (Græv. Thes. Ant. Rom., t. xi. p. 1359.) But on this matter we have nothing (so far as I know) but pure conjecture to go by. It is not, therefore, surprising to see Van Dale fluctuate. "Temporarium quippe, ac quidem *ferè* annum hoc munus erat." (Diss. iii. De Pontif. Græc. et Asiarchis, p. 275, Amstel. 1702.) An Aetolarch is mentioned as elected for three years, but we cannot build much on this analogy. (Phlegon, de mirab., c. 2.)

## APPENDICES.

## A.—ALLUSIONS TO ASIARCHS IN ANCIENT WRITERS.

## 1. Strabo.

συνοικείται δὲ καλῶς (ἡ τῶν Τραλλιανῶν πόλις) εἴ τις ἄλλη τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὑπὸ εὐπόρων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ αἱ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰσὶν οἱ πρωτεύοντες κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, οὓς Ἀσιάρχας καλοῦσιν, ὧν Πυθόδωρός τε ἦν ἀνὴρ Νυσαεὺς τὸ ἐξάρχης, ἐκείσε δὲ μεταβεβηκὼς διὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Πομπηίου φιλίᾳ διαπρέπων μετ' ὀλίγων· περιεβέβλητο δὲ καὶ οὐσίαν βασιλικὴν πλείονων ἢ δισχιλίων ταλάντων . . . οὗτός [τε] δὴ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἤκμασε καὶ Μηνόδωρος, ἀνὴρ λόγιος καὶ ἄλλως σεμνὸς καὶ βαρὺς, κ.τ.λ. (Lib. xv. c. 42, p. 960: Ed. Almel.)

## 2. St. Luke.

τοῦ δὲ Παύλου βουλομένου εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, οὐκ εἶδον αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταί· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀσιαρχῶν (*de Asia principibus*, Vulg.), ὄντες αὐτῷ φίλοι, πέμψαντες πρὸς αὐτὸν παρεκάλουν μὴ δοῦναι ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ θέατρον. (Acts xix. 30, 31.)

## 3. Acts of the Martyrdom of St. Polycarp.

ταῦτα λέγοντες, ἐπεβόων καὶ ἡρώτων τὸν Ἀσιάρχην Φίλιππον, ἵνα ἐπαφῇ τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ λέοντα· ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἔφη μὴ εἶναι ἐξδὸν αὐτῷ, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπληρώκει τὰ κληγέσια \* \* \* συνελήφθη ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου, ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Φιλίππου, Τραλλιανοῦ, ἀνθυπατεύοντος Στρατίου Κοδράτου. (Capp. 12 and 21. Cot. Pat. Apost. ii. pp. 198, 202: Ant. 1698.)

In the ancient Latin version Ἀσιάρχην is rendered *Asiarcham*; but Ruffinus, the ancient translator of Eusebius (who quotes this passage from the 'Martyrdom' in his Eccl. Hist. lib. iv. c. 15), expresses it by *munerarium*.

## 4. Aristides.

καὶ μὴν τοῦνομά γε ὁ Θεόδωρος οὕτως ἐπωνομάσθη μοι (sc. ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.) προσηθῆναι μὲν ἔδοξα ὡς ἐν Σμύρνῃ ὑπὸ τινος, καὶ μάλα συγγαίροντος, Θεόδωρε, χαῖρε· καὶ Ἀσιάρχης, οἶμαι, παρῇν. (Orat. 26, i. e. Orat. de Sac. 4: vol. i. p. 518, Dind.)

## 5. Modestinus (temp. Sev. Alex.).

ἔθνους ἱεροσύνη, οἷον Ἀσιαρχία, Βιθυνιαρχία, Καππαδοκαρχία, παρεχει

ἀλειουργσίαν ἀπὸ ἐπιτροπῶν, τούτεστιν ἕως ἀν ἄρχῃ. (Lib. ii. 'Excusationum,' quoted in the Digest. lib. xxvii. tit. 1, 'De Excusationibus,' leg. 6, § 14, where the reason is added: "Tutela enim non est reipublicæ munus, nec quod ad impensam pertinet, sed civile; nec provinciale videtur in tutela administrari." (Beck. Corp. Jur. Civ. vol. i. pt. 1, p. 995.)

The passage runs thus in the 'Basilica,' lib. xxxvii. tit. 1, leg. 6: οἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ νόμους ἐξηγούμενοι ἄφεσιν ἔχουσιν καὶ οἱ ἐν ἀγῶσι στεφανούμενοι, καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν, τούτεστιν Ἀσιάρχαι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ, ἕως οὗ τὴν τιμὴν πράττουσιν οὔτε δημόσιον οὔτε ἐπαρχικόν ἐστι τὸ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς λειτούργημα, ἀλλὰ πολιτικόν. (Vol. iii. p. 681, edit. Heimbach.)

The scholiast on this passage, published by Heimbach, explains the οἱ λοιποὶ to be Alytarchæ, Syriarchæ, Phœnicarchæ.

#### 6. Theodosian Code (Impp. Honorius et Theodosius, A.A., Anthemio, P.V.)

"Cunctos iudices admonemus, ut ludorum quidem, quibus moris est, intersint festivitati, et oblectamentis favorem eliciant populorum; verum expensarum non excedant ij solidorum librata impendia; nec inconsulta plausorum insania curialium vires, fortunas civium, principalium domus, possessorum opes, reipublicæ robur evellant, exceptis Alytarchis, Syriarchis, agonotheis, itemque Asiarchis, et cæteris, quorum nomen votiva festivitatis solemnitas dedicabit" (*al. dedicavit*). (Lib. xv. tit. 9, leg. 2: tom. v. p. 386, edit. Goth.)

The date of this rescript is A.D. 409.

#### 7. Constantinus Porphyrogenitus.

τὸ δὲ νῦν καλούμενον Θρακησίῳ θέμα, παλαι μὲν καὶ κατ' ἄρχας Ἀσία μικρὰ ὀνομάζετο, καὶ ὁ ταύτης κρατῶν ἀνθύπατος Ἀσιάρχης ἐλέγετο. καὶ ἵνα μὴ λέγω τοὺς ἔξωθεν, αὐτὸς ὁ μάρτυς τῆς ἀληθείας Λουκάς ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς καὶ ἀποστόλος ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων τὸ αὐτὸ λέγει, μεμνημένος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ τότε πρωτεύοντος τῶν Ἐφεσίων, Ἀσιάρχην αὐτὸν ἀποκαλῶν. (De Thematibus, lib. i. Them. 4: Band. Imper. Orient. vol. i. pp. 7, 8.)

N.B. Mazzolenus (Anim. xi. De Asiarchis) says: "Expresse vero dicuntur à Dione Asiarchæ Sacrorum omnium præsides: Ἀσιάρχαι ἀπάντων ἄρχοντες τῶν ἱερῶν." In Num. ær. max. mod. e Mus. Pisano Anim. p. 236. ap Sant. 1741.

The passage does not occur, so far as I can discover, either in Dion Chrysostom or Dion Cassius; but the writer may have been thinking of a passage of the former author, which some have erroneously (as it seems) thought to refer to the Asiarchs. See Eckhel, iv. 211, and Waddington.

## B.—INSCRIPTIONS RELATING TO THE ASIARCHS.

Böckh. (CORP. INSCR. GR.).

2464. Thera.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Θηραίων Τ. Φλ. Κλειτοσθένην  
Ἰουλιανόν, φιλοσέβαστον, Ἀσιάρχην ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, τὸν ἀπὸ  
προγόνων εὐεργέτην τῆς πατρίδος. (Entire.)\*

2511. Cos. (Sepulchrum polysomum.)

φαμίλια μονομάχων καὶ ὑπόμνημα κυνηγεσίων Νεμερίου Καστρικίου,  
Λευκίου, Πακωνιανοῦ, Ἀσιάρχου, καὶ Αὐρηλίας Σαπφοῦς, Πλάτωνος,  
Λικιννιανῆς, ἀρχιερείας, γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ. (Entire. Cf. tit. Cyz. 3677,  
et Smyrn. 3213, infra.)

2912. Magnesia ad Mæandrum.

Μαρ. Αὐρ. Αντωνεῖνον (i.e. Caracalla: see Böckh) . . . Μ. Αὐρ.  
Στρατόνεικος, etc., οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ γραμματεῖς ἀνέστησαν, λογιστεύοντος  
Κρίσπου Ἀσιά[ρχου].

2990. Ephesus.

This is given faultily in Böckh. (See below.)

2994. Ephesus.

ἡ βουλὴ ἐτείμησεν Ὀφέλλιον Ὀφελλίου Ἀσιάρχου καὶ . . . (Much  
mutilated.)

3148. Smyrna. (Now at Oxford.)

Χερσίφρων Ἀσιάρχης (sc. ὑπέσχετο ποιήσειν) τοὺς κήπους εἰς τὸν  
Φοινεῖκωνα, κ.τ.λ.  
Age of Hadrian.

3190. Smyrna.

ἡ ἱερὰ σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸν Βρεισέα Διόνυσον τεχνειτῶν καὶ μυστῶν.  
Μάρκον Αὐρηλίον Χαριδήμου Ἰουλιανόν, τὸν δις Ἀσιάρχην καὶ στεφανη-  
φόρον καὶ νεωκόρον τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ Βάκχον τοῦ θεοῦ, διὰ τε τὴν πρὸς  
τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα ἐν πᾶσιν εὐνοίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ  
μέγεθος ὧν αὐτῇ κατασκευάζει ἔργων, κ.τ.λ.

\* This word implies that the whole inscription as restored is printed  
here, not that there are no missing letters therein. It is only occasionally  
that square brackets are used to indicate these.

## 3191. Smyrna.

Σμυρναίων πόλις Πομπώνιον Κορινθήλιον Δολλιανόν 'Ηδιανόν, τὸν 'Ασι-  
άρχην καὶ ῥήτορα, ὑπατικῶν συγγενῇ, τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν [εὐνοίας, κ.τ.λ.].

Age of Severus or Commodus.

## 3213. Smyrna.

φамиλία μονομάχων Λ. Τίμωνος, 'Ασιάρχου, νεωτέρου. (Entire.)

A very similar inscription in App. 2914 b, p. 1028, and n. 3942  
(μνημα μονομάχων). The monument is, without doubt, sepulchral.

## 3324. Smyrna.

Μ. Αὐρ. Ζήνων καὶ Μ. Κλ. 'Ιουλιανή, 'Ασιάρχει δις, Ζωτικῷ πραγμα-  
τευτῇ μνείας χάριν. (Entire.)

## 3420. Philadelphia.

Μαρ. Αὐρ. Μανελίον 'Αλέξανδρον, τὸν ἀξιολογώτατον 'Ασιάρχην [the  
rest very mutilated: καὶ 'Ασιάρχου ἔκγονον seems to follow].

Third century P.C.

## 3421. Philadelphia.

Διόδωρον . . . συγγενῇ Μανιλίου 'Αλεξάνδρου 'Ασιάρχου . . .

## 3495. Thyatira.

οἱ ἀρτοκόποι ἐτείμησαν . . . Γ. 'Ιούλιον 'Ιουλιανόν Τατιανόν, ἀγωνο-  
θέτην καὶ 'Ασιάρχην, καὶ ἀρχιερέα διὰ βίου . . . υἱόν Γ. 'Ιουλίου 'Ιππιανοῦ  
καὶ Κορινθίας Σεκούνδης ἀρχιερέων τῆς 'Ασίας, ἔκγονον Φλα. Μοσχίου  
ἀρχιερέως, ἀπόγονον Φλαβίων 'Ιππιανοῦ καὶ Τατίας ἀρχιερέων, κ.τ.λ.

## 3501. Thyatira.

ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ δις Α . . . ["fortasse 'Ασιάρχης vel ἀγωνοθε-  
ῆς."—B.]. (Much mutilated.)

## 3504. Thyatira.

. . . 'Αννιανόν, φιλοσέβαστον, 'Ασιάρχην, ἀρχιερέα τῷ Σεβαστῷ [or  
τῷ] τὸν ἀριστον τοῦ λαμπροτάτου τῆς 'Ασίας ἔθνους καὶ πρῶτον τῆς  
πατρίδος, τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ νομικὸν ἀνείδρυσαν τιμῶντες ἐφ' οἷς εὖ ποιῶν  
διατελεῖ τὴν πατρίδα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, τὴν λαμπροτάτην καὶ μεγίστην Θυατει-  
ρηνῶν πόλιν, οἱ λινουργοί, κ.τ.λ.

## 3665. Cyzicus.

'Ιππαρχούσης Αὐρηλίας 'Ιουλίας Μενελαΐδος ἡρώιδος, θυγατρὸς Αὐρ.  
Μενελάου 'Ασιάρχου, κ.τ.λ.

"Titulus admodum recens" (Böckh). Probably of the third  
century.

## 3677. Cyzicus.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· φαμίλια μονομάχων φιλοτειμίας Πλωτ. Αὐρ. Γράτου,  
Ἀσιάρχου, καὶ Ἰουλίας Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιοδώρας, τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ,  
ἀρχιερείας. (Entire.)

ADDITIONAL INSCRIPTIONS NOT CONTAINED, OR FAULTILY  
GIVEN, IN BÖCKH'S 'CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM GRÆCARUM.'

*From Fellows's 'Asia Minor.'*

Assos, 8; Appendix, p. 317: ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ θεοῦ Καί-  
σαρος, ὁ δὲ αὐ . . . ν Ἀσιάρχος ὁ Κόϊντος [the readings are uncer-  
tain, nor can the word Ἀσιάρχος be counted upon; it may have  
been γυμνασίάρχος].

*From Lebas, 'Voyage Arch. en Asie-Mineure.'*

Ionian, 106. Teos, near the temple of Bacchus.  
(See also Hamilton, As. Minor, Appendix, n. 239.)

Τι. Κλαύδιον Ἰταλικοῦ υἱὸν Πίον Πεισωνεῖνον τὸν Ἀσιάρχην οἱ τοῦ Σητα-  
νείου θεοῦ Διούσου μύσται τὸν ἐκ προγόνων εὐεργέτην εὐχαριστίας χάριν,  
κ.τ.λ.

Ionian, 158 a.—Ephesus. (Copied by Waddington.)

M. I. . . λ. Αὐρ. Διούσιον τὸν ἱεροκέρυκα καὶ β' Ἀσιάρχου ἔ[κγ]ο[νον]  
Τ. Φλ. Μουνάτιος φιλοσέβαστος ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ Ἀσιάρχῃ[s] τῆς πρώτης  
καὶ μεγίστης μητροπόλεως τῆς Ἀσί[ας] καὶ β. νεωκόρων τῶν Σεβαστῶν  
Ἐφεσίων πόλε[ως], κ.τ.λ.

"C'est donc à tort que Böckh (n. 2090) a coupé ce document  
en deux portions indépendantes, et il faut bien reconnaître avec  
Muratori et d'autres que la ville d'Éphèse avait un Asiarque  
particulier." (Waddington.)

Ionian.—213. Miletus. (Copied by Lebas.)

. . . ἐπιμεληθέντων τ[ῆς] ἀνασ[τάσεως] τοῦ ἀνδριάντος . . . Ἀπολ-  
λοδώρου [τοῦ σ]υνκλητικοῦ Ἀσιάρχου [κ]αὶ τοῦ ἀξιολογωτάτου Κλ.  
Βασσ[ου].

Ionian.—244. Tichiussa. (Communicated to Lebas by Captain  
Graves.)

[Προφῆτης? ἀν]ρ εὐσεβῆς Μ. Αντ. Ἀντίοχος Ἀσιάρχης, υἱὸς Ἀντ.  
Ἀπολλοδώρου Ἀσιάρχου, ἔκγονος Ἀντωνίου Ἀπολλοδώρου Ἀσιάρχου  
καὶ Κ[λ.] Β[η]ρεινῆ[s] Ἡ[ρ]α[κ]λεαυῆς(?) ἀρχιερείας κ[αὶ] στε[φανη]-  
φόρου.

N.B. Προφήτης begins several inscriptions from Tichiussa, e.g. Προφήτης Φιλίδας Ἡρακλέωνος, φιλόσοφος Ἐπικούρειος, γένος ἀπ' Αἰαντος, which is complete.

*From Van Dale.*

A. Ἀντωνίῳ Ὑακίνθῳ Λαοδικεῖ, τῆς Ἀσίας στρατηγῷ, Ἀσιάρχῃ, Εὐτύχῃς ἀπελεύθερος μνείας χάριν. (Diss. iii. p. 281; from Gruter, p. 522, n. 1.)

*From Wetstein.*

Ἰουλ. Διονυσίου Ἀσιάρχου Περγαμηνῶν, καὶ ἀγωνοθέτου καὶ στεφανηφόρου. (On Acts xix. 31; Nov. Test. t. 2, p. 586.)

This and the preceding seem to be omitted by Böckh.

### C.—COINS OF THE ASIARCHS.

The types of the following coins are for the most part *briefly* described, and the legends of the obverses of the Imperial coins are in general omitted, the emperor's name being only stated. More full particulars may be seen in Mionnet and the other authors referred to. It may be observed that they are, without exception, of copper.

#### AUTONOMOUS COINS.

##### Adramyttium Mysiæ.

1. ΑΔΡΑΜΥΤΤΗΝΩΝ. Head of Pallas.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΙΝΑΡΙΟΥ ΑCΙΑΡΧΟΥ. Turreted female, with patera and horn of plenty. Æ. 6. (Mt. Suppl. v. 276.)

##### Cyzicus Mysiæ.

1. ΚΟΡΗ ΚΩΤΕΙΡΑ. Ceres; (possibly a portrait of Faustina junior.)

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ ΑΥΡΗ. ΑCΙΑΡ. ΚΥΖΙΚΗΝΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ. The Dioscuri. Æ. M. M. (Mt. Suppl. v. 326.)

##### Smyrna Ioniæ.

1. CΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΑCΙΑC. Ceres veiled, holding ears of corn and horn of plenty; (possibly a portrait of Tranquillina.)

*Rev.* ΕΠ. C. M. ΑΥΡ. ΤΕΠΤΙΟΥ ΑCΙΑΡΧΟΥ. Amazon

holding bipennis and patera. Æ. 8. (Mt. iii. 252.  
For the doubtful type of the obverse, see Pell. Mél.  
i. 64, and Leake, Num. Hell. Suppl. p. 94. Figured  
(from Col. Leake's specimen) pl. iv. n. 3.

2. IEPA CYNKAHTOC. Head of Senate.  
*Rev.* EΠI TEPTIOY ACI. CMYP. Γ. NE. Fortune, with  
patera and horn of plenty. Æ. 6. (Mt. iii. 214.)
3. Same legend and type.  
*Rev.* Same legend. Isis and Nemesis. Æ. 6. (Mt. iii. 215.)
4. ΘEON CYNKAHTON. Same type.  
*Rev.* CMYPN. Γ. NE. EΠI TEPTIOY ACI. Type of n. 2.  
Æ. 6. (Mt. Suppl. vi. 323.)

#### Laodicea Phrygiæ.

1. ΔHMOC ΛAOΔIKEON NEOKOPON. Bust of People.  
*Rev.* EΠI Λ. AIA. ΠITPHTOC ACIAPXOY Γ. ΛAOΔI-  
KEON NEOKOPON. Woman holding out patera  
to winged genius. Æ. 13. Described above and  
figured (from my specimen) pl. iii. n. 1.
2. "EΠ. II. AIA. NITPHTOC ACIAPXOY Γ in autonomo  
max. mod. et in Caracallæ numis." (Sest. Class.  
Gen. p. 124. His coin, misread, may or may not be  
the same.)

#### IMPERIAL COINS.

##### Cyzicus Mysiæ.

1. Commodus.  
*Rev.* CTP. Λ. AYPHAIOY ACIAPXOY KYZIKHNON  
NEOKOPON. Cybele on a lion, with three Cory-  
bantes. Æ. M. M. (Mt. Suppl. v. 335.)  
N.B. This has been read by some AYP. MEIAIOY. See  
Eckhel, Doct. Vet. Num. ii. 455, iv. 207; Rasche,  
Lex. i. 1170.
2. Gordian III.  
*Rev.* CTPA. II. AIA. APTEMIAΔPOY ACIAPXOY KYZI-  
KHNON NEOKOPON. Octostyle temple. Æ. M. M.  
(Id. 347.)
3. Same emperor.  
*Rev.* Same legend, in seven lines, in a laurel wreath. Æ. 6.  
(Mt. ii. 549.)

##### Pergamus Mysiæ.

[The coin of Pergamus of Augustus, to which the earlier



numismatists refer as reading M. ΦΟΥΡΙΟΣ ΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΠΕΠΤΑΜΗΝΩΝ, really has ΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΗΣΑΣ. See Eckhel, Doct. N. V. ii. 471.]

1. Antoninus Pius.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡΑ. ΠΟΛΛΙΩΝΟC (or ΠΟΛΛΙ.) ΑC. (or ΑCΙ.)  
ΠΕΠΤΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΝΕΩΚ. Asclepius and Hygieia.  
Æ. 6, Æ. 8, and Æ. 9. (Mt. Suppl. v. 440, 441.)

Three varieties of the same coin.

2. Faustina junior.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡΑ. ΑΙ. ΠΟΛΛΙ. ΑCΙ. ΠΕΠΤΑΜΗΝΩΝ. Same type. (Mt. Suppl. v. 444.)

3. Valerian senior.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ C. ΑΥΡ. ΔΑΜΑ. ΑCΙΑΡΧ. ΠΕΠΤΑΜΗΝΩΝ  
ΠΡΩΤΩΝ Γ. ΝΕΩΚ. Fortune and Asclepius. Æ. 12½. (Mt. ii. 617.)

4. Gallienus.

*Rev.* Same legend. Two naked men holding a vase. Æ. 9½. (Mt. ii. 618.)

5. The same.

*Rev.* Same legend. Two naked men, with an altar between them, holding a ram's head. Æ. 9. (Mt. Suppl. v. 474.)

6. The same.

*Rev.* Same legend (but only ΑCΙ). Hercules reposing on a lion's skin, holding vase. Æ. M. M. (Ibid.)

Abydos Troadis.

1. Faustina junior.

*Rev.* ΑΙΑ. ΖΩΙΑΟΥΑCΙΑΡΥΟ (sic pro ΑCΙΑΡΧΟΥ) ΑΒΥΔΗ.  
Ephesian Diana in octostyle temple. Æ. 6. (Barbarous fabric.) Mt. Suppl. v. 505. (I should suspect that the coin has rather ΑCΙΑΡΧΟ; that ΑCΙΑΡΧΟΥ is intended we can hardly doubt.)

[A coin of Temnos, in Æolis, said to bear the portrait of Asinius Gallus on the obverse, and to read on the reverse ΤΑΜΝΙΤΑΝ ΑC. ΦΑΙΝΙΟΥ round the head of Bacchus, is Mionnet's authority (Tab. Gén. 89) for enrolling Phœnias among the Asiarchs; but there is little or no doubt that ΑΠΟΛΛΑC, and not merely ΑC. preceded ΦΑΙΝΙΟΥ. See Mt. Suppl. vi. 41. I had written this before perceiving that Mr. H. P. Borrell had come to the same conclusion (Num. Chron. vol. vii. p. 51). The coin is of Augustus, and has his portrait. There is no authority therefore for counting Temnos among the places which have Asiarchal coins.]

## Commune Ionum.

## 1. Antoninus Pius.

*Rev.* KOINON ΠΙ. [sic, but ΙΠ. on some coins below] ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΠΠΟΝΟΜ. ΚΑ. ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟC ΑCΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩC ΙΠ. ΠΟΛΕΩΝ. Ceres in a car of two serpents, holding a torch in each hand. Æ. 13. (Mt. iii. 61, and Mt. Suppl. vi. 79, n. 1, which scarcely differs.)

The ΠΠΟΝΟΜ. on these coins has been misread by Vaillant and others. With Sestini and Mionnet, we may render the legend (which seems to be often incomplete): "Commune tredecim urbium; privilegio Claudii Frontonis Asiarchæ et summi pontificis tredecim urbium." Without presuming to say that ΠΠΟΝΟΜ. is wrongly read, I should rather have expected ΠΠΟΝΟΙΑ than ΠΠΟΝΟΜΙΑ. See Böckh, n. 2079.

## 2. The same, but with rape of Proserpine on reverse. Æ. 13. (Mt. iii. 61, and Suppl. vi. 79, n. 2, and n. 3, which scarcely differ.) Figured from the specimen in the British Museum, pl. iii. n. 2, which seems to have ΠΠΟΝ. only.

## 3. The same, but with Hercules caressing the young Iolaus on the reverse. Æ. 13. (Mt. Suppl. vi. 80, n. 4 and n. 5, which scarcely differ.)

A coin with the same type has the interesting legend ΑCΙΑC ΠΠΟΤΩΝ (sic) ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΠΙ. ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΠΠΟΝ. ΚΑ. ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝ (Mt. ii. 62).

## 4. M. Aurelius.

*Rev.* Same legend. Juno in hexastyle temple. Æ. 11. (Mt. iii. 62.)

## 5. The same.

*Rev.* Same legend, but the Ephesian Diana in the temple, veiled; on her head a modius; crescent above. Æ. M. M. (Mt. Suppl. vi. 80.)

Most likely the goddess is the same in n. 4 and n. 5. The Samian Juno resembles the Ephesian Diana.

## 6. The same.

*Rev.* Same legend. Fortune and her attributes. Æ. M. M. (Mt. Suppl. vi. 81.)

## Smyrna Ionisæ.

## 1. Gordian III.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ ΤΕΡΤΙΟΥ ΑCΙΑΡΧΟΥ CΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ Γ. ΝΕΩ. Alexander the Great asleep under a tree; two

Nemeses near him. Æ. 11. (Mt. iii. 250, n. 1410, 1411; Leake, Num. Hell. (Asia), p. 122.) (There are slight variations in the size and legend of this coin.) Figured (from the specimen in the British Museum) pl. iv. n. 4.

[The coin classed by Mionnet to Tranquillina iii. 252, has been enumerated among the autonomous coins; it is also regarded by Mr. Maximilian Borrell as autonomous. (Sale Catalogue of the Ivanoff Collection, p. 36.)]

### Hypæpa Lydiæ.

1. Septimius Severus.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ ΑΙ. ΑΠΩΝΟC ΑCΙΑΡ. ΤΟ Β. ΥΠΑΙΠΗΝΩΝ.  
Juno Pronuba in hexastyle temple. Æ. M. M.  
(Mt. Suppl. vii. 359.)

2. The same Emperor.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ Μ. Α . . . ΝΟC ΑCΙΑΡ. C(?) ΤΟ Γ. (Legend incomplete and retouched.) Same type. Æ. 10.  
(Mt. Suppl. vii. 358.) (This unsatisfactory coin seems competent to prove that Apion was elected Asiarch for the third time.)

3. The same.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ Μ. Α. ΑΥΡΗΑΙΟΥ ΑCΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΑΡΧ. ΥΠΑΙ-  
ΠΗΝΩΝ. Same type. Æ. 11. (Mt. iv. 55.)

The coin in Mt. Suppl. vii. 359, n. 192, scarcely differs. The reverse is figured in Müller's Denkm. Band i. t. ii. f. 9.

4. The same.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ ΓΑΥΚΩΝΟC ΑCΙΑΡ. CΤΡ. ΤΟ Β. Α. Sestini,  
Class. Gen. p. 108, without naming the type. Pro-  
bably the same reverse as a coin of Julia Domna,  
Mt. iv. 55, n. 291 (which is said, however, to have  
ΑΡ in place of ΑCΙΑΡ, though we may suspect ΑCΙ  
to be off the coin), upon which a Victory is repre-  
sented as conducting an image of Venus in a biga.

5. Plautilla.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ Β. ΑCΙΑΡ. CΤΡ. ΥΠΑΙΠΗΝΩΝ.  
Military figure making a libation; Victory behind,  
crowning him. (Akerman, Num. Ill. of New Test.  
p. 51, with a figure; first published in 'Gentleman's  
Magazine,' Aug. 1835.)

### Magnesia ad Sipylum.

1. ΜΑΤΝΗΤΕΣ ΑΠΟ ΣΙΠΥΛΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΙ. Portraits of  
Augustus and Livia side by side.

*Rev.* ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΚΙΑ. ΑΣ.; in field, ΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Heads of Carus and Lucius facing each other. Æ. 4. (Mt. Suppl. vii. 375.)

[ΑΣ may probably be an abbreviation of ΑΣΙΑΡΧΗΣ, and to this coin Sestini in all likelihood refers when he says (Class. Gen. p. 109), "*Magistratus Asiarcha et sacerdos in numis Augusti.*" The interpretation, however, is uncertain, more especially as ΚΙΑ. remains, I believe, unexplained. If Dionysius was an Asiarch, he is the earliest known to us by coins, no other occurring on the coins of any emperor before Antoninus Pius,—a circumstance in itself somewhat singular.]

Sættæ or Sætteni Lydiæ.

1. Tranquillina. *Obv.* ΦΡΟΥΡ. (sic) ΤΡΑΝΚΟΥΙΛΛΙΝΑ ΚΑΒ (sic). Head of Tranquillina to right.  
*Rev.* ΕΠΙ ΑΙ. ΑΤΤΑΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΥΟΥ. (sic) ΙΙΙ. ΑΚ. ΑΡ., in exergue ΚΑΙΤΤΗΝΩΝ. Figure in a tetrastyle temple. Æ. 8. Figured pl. iii. n. 4. (In my collection from the Ivanoff cabinet (lot 551). The readings both of obverse and reverse, though singular, are certain. ΙΙΙ. appears to be an abbreviation of ΙΙΙΑΚΟΥ, which occurs (or at least is said to occur) on another coin. ΑΚ. is most probably for ΑΚΙΑΡΧΟΥ, and ΑΡ. for ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ. Compare Mt. iv. 113.)

Now first published.

2. Salonina.  
*Rev.* ΚΤΡ. ΑΚΙΑΡΧΑ (read ΑΚΙΑΡΧ. Α. or, perhaps, ΑΚΙΑΡΧ. Δ.) ΚΑΙΤΤΗΝΩΝ. Same type. Æ. 7. (Mt. iv. 114.) (The first part of the legend seems to be wanting, and the reading requires verification. It may be that the person named was *first* Asiarch, or Asiarch for the fourth time.)
3. The same empress.  
*Rev.* ΚΟΦ. ΕΥ . . . ΑΚΙΑΡΧΩ (sic) ΚΑΙΤΤΗ . . . Same type. Æ. (Mt. Suppl. vii. 410.)

Sardis Lydiæ.

1. Septimius Severus.  
*Rev.* ΕΠΙ ΚΤΡΑ. ΚΟΡ. ΟΥΕΤΤΗΝΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΚΙΑΡΧ. Δ.; below, ΚΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ ΔΙΟ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ. Two decastyle temples; above, two laurel crowns. Æ. 13½. (Mt. iv. 128.) (This coin requires verification, in order to see whether Α or Δ occurs after ΑΚΙΑΡΧ. See below.)

2. Caracalla. *Obv.* "ΑΥΤΟ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΡ . . . Bust of Caracalla to r.

*Rev.* Two hexastyle temples opposed; the sides, in which are six columns, as if in perspective; the angle, which represents the junction of the fronts with the sides, is in relief; above, ΕΠΙ ΤΡΑ. ΚΟΡ. ΟΥΕΤΤΗΝΙΑΝΟΥ ΑCΙΑΡΧ . . . ; below, in four lines, CΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ ΔΙC ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΑCΙΑΣ. Æ. 13½." Leake, Num. Hell. Suppl. p. 86. Figured, from his specimen, pl. iv. n. 1. (This coin is unfortunately defective in the most important part of the legend.)

3. Same emperor.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ ΤΡΑ. ΚΟΡ. ΟΥΕΤΤΗΝΙΑΝΟΥ ΑCΙΑΡΧ. Α. (or Δ?); in a wreath, ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΑCΙΑC. CΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ ΔΙC ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ. Æ. M. M. (Mt. iv. 131.) (It will be observed that this coin is said to have Α after ΑCΙΑΡΧ., while n. 1 is said to have Δ. Whichever letter is right, it is almost certain to be the same in each. Mionnet prints ΑCΙΑΡΧΑ here, but this can hardly be the form of the genitive in imperial times.)

A coin of the same Emperor, reading ΕΠΙ ΤΡΑ. ΚΟΡ. ΟΥΕΤΤΗΝΙΑΝΟΥ . . . CΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ Β ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ, probably had his title ΑCΙΑΡΧΟΥ. Type, Emperor on horseback. (Mt. Suppl. vii. 426.)

Mionnet's index (Tab. Gén. p. 127) refers to coins of Julia Domna bearing the name of this Asiarch, but his *title* does not occur thereon.

4. Gordian III.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ ΙΟΥ. CΟΥΑ. ΕΡΜΟΦΙΛΟΥ Α. ΑΡΧ. CΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ Γ. ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ. Hercules and Bacchus with their attributes. Æ. M. M. (Mt. iv. 136.) (This seems to be the same coin that Van Dale (Diss. de Asiarchis, p. 279) and Eckhel (Doctr. Num. Vet. iv. 207) refer to, but instead of Α. ΑΡΧ. they have ΑCΙΑΡΧ. Inspection must determine the true reading.)

5. Valerian senior.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ ΔΟΜ. ΡΟΥΦΟΥ ΑCΙΑΡΧ. CΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ Γ. ΝΕΩΚΟΡ. Image of Proserpine, Ceres veiled facing her. Æ. M. M. (Mt. Suppl. vii. 432 (and less correctly, iv. 139, n. 798).)

6. Same emperor.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ ΔΟΜ. ΡΟΥΦΟΥ ΑCΙΑΡΧ. Κ. ΥΙΟΥ Τ. ΑCΙ.,

APX. A.; in the centre within a laurel crown  
CAPAIANQN Γ. NEOKOPQN. Æ. 9½. (Mt. iv.  
140.)

7. Same emperor.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ ΔΟΜ. ΡΟΥΦΟΥ ΑCΙΑΡΧ. Κ. ΥΙΟΥ Β ΑCΙΑΡΧ.  
CAPAIANQN ΤΡΙC ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ. Ceres in a biga  
of winged serpents. (Mt. iv. 140.)

8. Gallienus.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ ΔΟΜ. ΡΟΥ+ΟΥ ΑCΙΑΡΧ. Κ. ΥΙΟ. Β. ΑCΙΑΡΧ.  
Κ. ΚΡΑΤΙΧΑ CAPAIANQN Γ. ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ.  
Three prize urns on a square table. Æ. 10½. (Mt.  
iv. 140, n. 802 and n. 803.) (Belley, referring to a  
specimen of this coin in the Albani cabinet, says  
that "plusieurs lettres sont frustes;" he conjectures  
the legend to be ΕΠΙ ΔΟΜ. ΡΟΥΦΟΥ ΑCΙΑΡΧ. Κ.  
ΥΙΟΥ ΑCΙΑΡΧ. Κ. ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟC. (Mém. Litt. xviii.  
152.) (The coin seems from Mionnet's account  
to be tolerably common, and to vary a little; it  
deserves careful verification. I have not seen it.)

9. Salonina.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ ΔΟΜ. ΡΟΥ+ΟΥ ΑCΙΑΡ. (on others ΑCΙ.) CAP-  
AIANQN Γ. ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ (on others ΝΕΟΚΟΡ.)  
Image of Proserpine. Æ. 7, 8, and 9. (Mt. iv.  
140, Suppl. vii. 433; Leake, Num. Hell. (Asia), 108.  
(There are several variations in the legends and size  
of this coin, which is considered common.) Figured  
pl. iv. n. 2, from Col. Leake's specimen.

10. Same empress.

*Rev.* Same legend. Cybele seated, at her feet a lion. Æ. 7.  
(Mt. iv. 141.)

11. Same empress.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ... Μ... [ΑCΙ]ΑΡΧ. CAPAIANQN ΝΕΟΚΟΡ.  
ΧΡΥCΑΝΘΙΝΑ. Prize urn and palm branch. Æ.  
7. (Mt. iv. 141.) (This seems to be an Asiarchal  
coin of Rufus, to whom all the other coins of Salonina  
belong which are described by Mionnet.)

12. Saloninus.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ ΔΟΜ. ΡΟΥΦΟΥ ΑCΙΑΡΧ. CAPAIANQN Γ. ΝΕΟ-  
ΚΟΡΩΝ. Proserpine; Ceres facing her. Æ. 6.  
(Mt. iv. 141.)

13. Valerian junior.

*Rev.* Same legend (with ΝΕΟΚΟΡ) and type. Æ. 9. (Mt.  
iv. 141.)

## 14. Same emperor.

*Rev.* Same legend (with ΝΕΩΚ.). Woman holding a rod and wheat-ears (Ceres?) behind a table on which is a temple. Æ. 9. (Mt. Suppl. vii. 133.)

## Acmonia Phrygiæ.

## 1. Septimius Severus.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ. ΦΛ. ΠΡΕΙΚΟΥ ΝΕ. ΓΡ. ΥΟΥ ΑCΙΑΡΧ. ΑΚΜΟΝΕΩΝ. Emperor on horseback, preceded by two women; river god below. Æ. 9. (NE. seems to me to be an abbreviation for ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΥ rather than for ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΥ, for which Mr. Waddington takes it; ΓΡ. is probably, as he observes, for ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΩC; the remainder of the legend certainly means that he was the son of an Asiarch. See Waddington's *Voy. en Asie-Mineure*, p. 7, Paris, 1853. The coin is badly described in Mt. iv. 201.)

## 2. Elagabalus.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ. ΦΛ. ΠΡΙΚΟΥ ΥΟ. ΑCΙΑ. ΓΡ. ΑΚΜΟΝΕΩΝ. Asclepius and Hygieia. Æ. 6. (Waddington, u. s. pp. 6, 7.) The preservation is said to be perfect, so that the legend may be depended upon. A point follows ΥΟ. (*i. e.* ΥΙΟΥ), "le seul dans toute la légende, ce qui indique une contraction insolite." The archaic form of the genitive (ΥΙΟ for ΥΙΟΥ) is hardly to be thought of in an imperial coin, and is not found, so far as I know, after Alexander and Lysimachus; it must be regarded as an abbreviation. See n. 8 of the coins of Sardis.

## Laodicea Phrygiæ.

## 1. Caracalla.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ Α. ΑΙΑ. ΠΙΓΡΗΤΟC ΑCΙΑΡ. ΑΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ. Bacchus drawn by a panther. Æ. 13. (Mt. iv. 328.)

2. Same emperor. *Obv.* ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC CE. Head of Caracalla to right.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ ΑΙΑ. ΠΙΓΡΗΤΟC ΑCΙΑΡ.; in exergue, ΑΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ. Cybele in quadriga of lions. Æ. 13. (British Museum.) (Figured in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. Asiarchæ, but the emperor is wrongly stated to be Commodus; also in our plate iii. fig. 3.)

## 3. Same emperor.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ Π. ΑΙΑ. ΠΙΓΡΗΤΟC ΑCΙΑΡ. Γ. ΑΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ

NEOKOPON. Emperor supported by two female figures. Æ. 13. (Mt. iv. 328.)

4. Same emperor.

*Rev.* ΕΠ. Π. ΑΙΑ. ΠΙΤΡΗΤΟC ΑCΙΑ. ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ. Prize urn on table; below it, ΑCΚΑΗΠΕΙΑ. Æ. 12. (Fox, 'Unpublished Greek Coins,' pt. ii. t. viii. f. 148.)

5. Same emperor.

*Rev.* Α. ΑΙΑ. ΠΙΤΡΗC ΑCΙΑΡΧΙΕ (sic pro ΑCΙΑΡΧΗC) Γ. ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ. Interior of a public building where prizes are being distributed; in exergue, ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ. Æ. 13. (Pembr. Coll. part iii. t. 101.) (A cast, considered by Mr. Burgon to represent "a lost original of great interest." Pembr. Cat. p. 266.)

This coin is omitted by Mionnet.

#### Otrus Phrygiæ.

1. Caracalla.

*Rev.* ΑΑΕΖΑΝΔΡΟC ΑCΙΑΡΧΗC ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ. ΟΤΡΟΗΝΩΝ. Æneas bearing Anchises. Æ. M. M. (Mt. iv. 347.)

2. Geta.

*Rev.* Same legend (abbreviated). Æneas returning, his right foot on a prow. Æ. 6. (Mt. iv. 348.)

#### Stectorium Phrygiæ.

1. Philip senior and junior facing.

*Rev.* ΕΠ. ΑΥ. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΑCΙΑΡΧ. Κ. ΤΗC ΠΑΤΡΙΔ. CΤΕΚΤΟΡΗΝΩΝ. Mars. Æ. 8½. (Mt. iv. 362.)

2. Same emperors.

*Rev.* ... [Δ]ΗΜΗ[ΤΡΙΟΥ ΑCΙΑΡΧΟΥ CΤΕΚΤΟΡΗΝΩΝ. Female holding patera and horn of plenty. Æ. 8. (Mt. Suppl. vii. 618.)

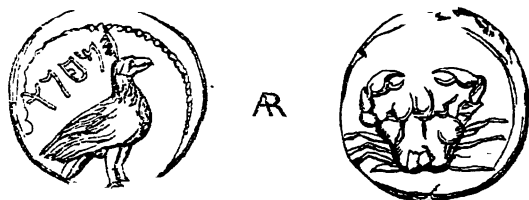
Demetrius seems to have been Asiarch, and also *archon* of his country, *i. e.* of Stectorium: ἀρχων being understood from Ἀσιάρχης. How far his Asiarchate extended we do not know, perhaps to all Phrygia.

#### Synaos Phrygiæ.

1. Lucius Verus.

*Rev.* ΕΠΙ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΑC. ΑΡΧΩΝ. ΤΟ Β. in the field, ΣΥΝΑΕΙΤΩΝ. Diana with bow and arrow. (Mt. Suppl. vii. 619:)





## VII.

ON A COIN BEARING A PHŒNICIAN LEGEND,  
AND REFERRING TO AN ALLIANCE BETWEEN  
MOTYA AND AGRIGENTUM, IN SICILY.

I HAVE much pleasure in laying before the Numismatic Society a very fine specimen, which I have recently procured for the National Collection, of a coin which, in size at all events, is, I believe, unique, and for which I had therefore to pay my friend, M. Rollin, the large sum of £80.

It may be described as follows:—

*Obv.*—Eagle standing to right; above, Phœnician inscription  $\text{𐤌𐤕𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓}$  [𐤌𐤕𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓].

*Rev.*—Crab.

R S. 7.5. Wt. 264.5.

It will be observed that the type of the reverse, the crab, is one of the most usual types of Agrigentum; and that, though the eagle does occur on the money of Motya, this bird is almost as common on the coins of Agrigentum as the crab. The inference I draw from the occurrence of these two types on this coin is, that it refers to an alliance between the Phœnician settlers at Motya and Agrigentum—many other instances of similar

alliances being recognisable on Sicilian coins, as is well known and generally admitted.

In the present instance, I am the more confirmed in this view by the general character of this coin, which resembles most remarkably the fabric of Agrigentum—so much so that, but for the Phœnician legend, it would assuredly have been classed to that town—while it is no less certain that the legend is perfectly clear, and cannot be interpreted as referring to any place except Motya.

The usual types, of Motya alone, may be gathered from the description of the following coins.

*First, with Greek inscriptions only:—*

1. *Æ.* *Obv.*—Female head to right; hair twisted up—round, four dolphins.

*Rev.*— . . . . . OTYAION. Horseman to right. S. 5·6.

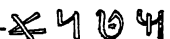
2. *Æ.* *Obv.*—Eagle to left, standing on an Ionic capital, and holding in his beak the tendrils of an ivy leaf, which is visible above the bird.

*Rev.*—NOIAYTOM (*retrograde*, sic). Dolphin to left, under which, shell. S. 2. Wt. 8·4.


[This small coin was found by Mr. Burgon, in a grave at Ithaca, deposited in the mouth of a skeleton, to pay Charon.]

*Secondly, with Phœnician inscriptions:—*

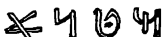
1. *Æ.* *Obv.*—Head of Medusa, full faced.


*Rev.*— מטרם Palm-tree. S. 2.

2. *Æ.* *Obv.*—Head of Medusa slightly to right.

*Rev.*— מטרם Palm-tree. S. 1·4.





3. *Æ.* *Obv.*—Head of Medusa, full faced.

*Rev.*— מטרם retrograde. Legend double struck, and indistinct. Palm-tree. S. 4·5.





Occasionally we meet with the usual legend, only written retrograde, thus,  מטרם.

I am not aware of any other varieties that can with certainty be attributed to Motya.




On the other hand, we have many instances, to which I shall now allude, in corroboration of the attribution of this tetradrachm to an alliance between the towns of Motya and Agrigentum. Thus we have—

1. *Æ.* Tetradrachm. An eagle to left, over which is the Phœnician legend     כטרא, and on the rev. a crab and a fish. S. 7·2.





2. *Æ.* Didrachm. *Obv.*—Female head to right, nearly full-faced — round, six dolphins.

*Rev.*—Phœnician legend,     כטרא, and a crab with a fish above it. S. 5·2; and another S. 4·5.

There is also a small coin, probably an obolus, S. 1·2, with the same type as No. 2.

These I attribute, like the coin to which this paper is specially devoted, to an alliance between Motya and Agrigentum,—the character of the fabric in this, as in the other case, tending to confirm the attribution. I may remark that on many of the purely Greek coins of Agrigentum, Phœnician influence is constantly discernible—occasional purely Phœnician letters being inserted in the Greek inscriptions for those more strictly Greek. This is constantly the case with the N, which is written thus , while the Γ appears in its (probably) original and reversed form of , and wholly different from the usual lunated Greek G ().

Again, we meet with a coin such as the following :—

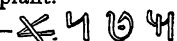

*Æ.* *Obv.*—Female head, to right, behind, Phœnician legend,     כטרא.

*Rev.*—Man-headed bull to right. S. 1.

This reverse is the usual, I might say the most

common, type of Gela. I think, therefore, that this small coin, in the same way, refers to a period when the two towns Motya and Gela, were in friendly intercourse with one another, and not improbably to an actual *alliance between Motya and Gela*.

Again, I find a series of coins bearing, some of them only Greek legends, and some Phœnician; to wit:—



1. *Æ. Obv.*—MOTYAION. Female head to right.  
*Rev.*—Dog standing to left; under his legs a small tree or plant. S. 4·6.
2. *Æ. Obv.*— (מטרא). The same female head to right, as on the last piece; behind the head an ivy leaf.  
*Rev.*—Same type of the dog and plant as on the last.
3. *Æ. Obv.*—Same in all respects as the last two, but that in the Phœnician legend the letters have been transposed, as on No. 2 of the coins of Motya itself (see above), thus,  (אמטר).

These coins I have no doubt refer to an alliance between *Motya and Segesta*. The type of the dog on the reverse recalls the well-known type of the money of the latter town. Add to which the drawing of the female head is of that hard, un-Greek character which is noticeable on many of the coins usually given to Panormus, but which, with M. Müller of Copenhagen, I feel pretty certain ought, with more propriety, to be given to Carthage.





One class still remains, about which I am well aware there will be more doubt on the minds of many Numismatists; yet I confess, on looking at the matter from all sides, I do not doubt the correctness of the attribution I am about to propose for them; and this is that of certain coins which exhibit two Phœnician legends—the one very brief, the other rather more full.

The first of these may be described as follows :—



1. *R. Obv.*—Youthful male head, sometimes turned to right, sometimes to the left.

*Rev.*—  (𐤏𐤍). Bull with human head to right or left. S. generally to 1 1. 1. 4.

2. *R. Obv.*—Same type of head as the last.

*Rev.*—Same type of the man-headed bull, but the Phœnician legend,     (𐤏𐤍 𐤁𐤏𐤍).

These coins I attribute to an alliance between *Syracuse and Gela*.


The type of Gela may be considered certain; the only question is whether we are justified in considering the Phœnician   (𐤏𐤍) to refer to Syracuse. Now upon this point I am quite content to accept the interpretation which has been suggested by Gesenius.

Tetradrachms exist both in the collection of the Bibliothèque at Paris and in the National collection, which may be described as follows :—

*R. Obv.*—Head of Arethusa to left; round, four dolphins.

*Rev.*—Charioteer in quadriga to left, crowned by a Victory; and under this, the same Phœnician legend

 (𐤏𐤍)

About the attribution of this type to Syracuse there need be no question. The character of the work, the treatment of the hair, the type of the face, all point to Syracuse, and the only other attribution that could be, at first sight, probable, is that of Panormus or Carthage. The Phœnician legend, however, of the reverse forbids this, even if we had no reasonable translation for this word, .

I believe, with Gesenius, that this Phœnician word

means "island," and if so, as Gesenius has argued, may with the best reason be held to refer to *the* island *par excellence*, viz., the Island of Ortygia, on which the oldest part of Syracuse was settled. Passages are quoted by him from Strabo, vi. p. 415; Diod., xi. c. 67; Cicero in Verrem., c. 52, 53, which appear to me convincing on this point. If this be so, we may fairly suppose, as suggested above, that the little coins here described do refer to an alliance between Syracuse and Gela.

In conclusion, I will only call the attention of scholars to the occurrence of the definite article before the name of Motya, as shown in the coin which is the subject of this paper, and which is so far uncommon that I am not aware of its existence anywhere, except upon one tetradrachm of Carthage (or Panormus); and to the curious fact that the Phœnician nominal legends are sometimes wholly retrograde, and read therefore from left to right, and sometimes exhibit an intermixture, or rather uncertainty, of the order of the letters, which I have pointed out when occurring above.

For a detailed history of the town of Motya, and for a record of the discovery of its site, some years since, by the late Admiral W. H. Smyth, I refer my readers with pleasure to an able article by Mr. E. H. Bunbury, in Dr. W. Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography."

W. S. W. VAUX.

## VIII.

LETTER FROM THE BARON PROKESCH-OSTEN  
TO C. T. NEWTON, Esq., M.A., ON SOME IN-  
EDITED GREEK COINS.

MONSIEUR,—La photographie ci-jointe d'un tetradrachme de Characène (Pl. V. No. 1) qui m'est venu l'autre jour de l'intérieur de l'Asie, vous offrira peut-être quelque intérêt. C'est la première médaille connue d'Hyspasines, fondateur de Spasinou-Charax, et d'une dynastie de Rois, représentée par une série de médailles. Le tetradrachme est de bonne conservation et d'authenticité incontestable. Il pèse 16.02 grammes. Son caractère Séleucide me paraît confirmer l'opinion de Juba, contestée par Pline, savoir qu' Hyspasines avant de se rendre indépendant, gouvernait la Characène et la Mesène pour le Roi, Antiochus VII. La date, 188, prouve que la fondation du royaume coïncide effectivement avec l'époque de la mort de ce Roi, époque de grande faiblesse de l'état Séleucide, et de l'invasion victorieuse des Parthes. Le nom de fondateur—(ΥΣΠΙΑΟΣΙΝΟΥ dit la légende)—marque une légère différence avec le nom conservé dans les anciens auteurs, et qui est tantôt Pasines, tantôt Spasines, tantôt Hyspasines. Il paraît donc que l'o du centre n'a pas été prononcé. Le type du revers est semblable à celui de quelques tetradrachmes d'Antiochus II., type, choisi par ce

roi probablement en mémoire de la fondation d'Antioche, a remplacée la ville d'Alexandre, et a été remplacée à qui son tour par Spasinou-Charax.

Dans l'espoir que vous voudrez peut-être accorder à ma trouvaille une place dans le "Numismatic Chronicle," je joins une seconde photographie.

Je joins encore trois autres inédites (du moins je les prends pour telles).

Æ 6. 10·97 grammes. EΛE. Eleutheriæ Cretæ. (Pl. V. No. 2.)

Æ 6. 10·67 „ Inépigr. Elyrus Creta. (Pl. V. No. 3.)

Æ 5. 16·27 „ „ Que je ne sais classer, Erythræ  
Ionîæ? La style rappelle Sinda Bospori, ou Selybria  
Thraciæ. Est-ce de Heraclea Ponti? Je prends le  
type au revers pour une massue. (Pl. V., No. 4.)

Je vous prie, Monsieur, de me garder de tems en tems  
une petit souvenir.

PROKESCH-OSTEN.

Constantinople, 15 Fevrier, 1866.



## IX.

## FIND OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY GROATS.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, March 16, 1865.]

AN earthen jug containing a number of silver coins was brought to me, one day last summer, by a person who stated that he found it, several years ago, near the village of Clay Coton, on the borders of Northamptonshire. The coins are all in good condition,—groats, chiefly of the reign of Edward IV.; but it will be seen, by the list appended to this paper, that a fair sprinkling of them belong to some who preceded and followed Edward on the throne.

Beginning with a few of the unattributed and unattributable groats of the Lancastrian Henries, the latest coins in the hoard are those of Henry VII., with the imperial crown. So that the fifteenth century claims the whole find, and the date of the jug's *deposit* may be looked for in those happy days when the "provident" Tudor's rapacious hand was creating an additional inducement for men to secrete what valuables they possessed. Besides Edward IV.'s money—which forms, as I said, the bulk of the find—there are eleven of Henry VI.'s rare light groats; eight of them struck in London, and three supplied by his less active mint at York. There are also sixteen groats of Richard III.; one of them, and that the least common variety, bearing both his mint-marks. While to crown the interest of the whole find, there are seven groats which, with Richard's mint-mark of the rose and sun united, and yet Edward's name, must be con-

sidered as the coinage mentioned by Ross of Warwick, and assigned to the unfortunate prince we call Edward V. "*Moneta tunc facta sub ejus nomine est percussa et formata, et omnia regiæ dignitati pertinentia in suo nomine solito modo erant observata.*" ("*Historia Regum Angliæ,*" p. 213.<sup>1</sup>)

In this array of coins and kings, the pieces most noticeable through their absence are the heavy groats struck in the earliest years of Edward IV.'s reign. We might reasonably have expected to find some of them in this hoard, for coins of a date earlier still are seen in it, associated with some of his later money. But those we do find offer examples of the mints of London, York, Coventry, Bristol, Norwich, Dublin, and Drogheda, and of every well-recognised mint-mark belonging to them. Nay, more than this, we find among them several unpublished varieties, so far as variety depends on mint-mark. The "*fleur-de-lis,*" hitherto unnoticed as a mark of London (though common enough at York), has now one solitary representative. It is a coin singular, not merely in number, but also in weight and appearance. Very light, even for a clipped coin; the king's crown upon it, unlike the low, flat crown usually portrayed on Edward IV.'s groats, more nearly resembles the higher, long-stalked one of his son, and of his brother Richard. Other novelties occur among them, by combinations of the ordinary marks, previously unobserved or unrecorded; and I am led thereby to offer a few observations on their general classification.

I shall begin by considering the emblems or signs at the commencement of the legend on the obverse or the reverse to be the mint-marks proper; while those privy

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Ruding, vol. i. p. 291.

marks which may frequently be detected in other parts of the coin, either at each side of the bust, in the field, or interspersed among the letters of the legend, and the pellets of the quarters, as being marks subsidiary to them. Edward IV.'s reign lasted eighteen years, with one short interruption, and during those eighteen years his London Mint employed the following chief marks—1, the cross; 2, the heraldic cinquefoil; 3, the rose; 4, the sun; 5, the crown; 6, the annulet; and 7, the lis, for the purpose of designating all moneys struck there for the king within particular periods, each "delivery" bearing its special mark.

Now, while these initial emblems had this use,<sup>2</sup> what use had those subordinate marks which are found on some of the pieces in such variety? We cannot imagine they were placed there with no meaning, or without authority. The wardens of the mint would insist on an uniformity of style in the production of each die, there is no doubt, and permit no departure from it without reason. Can these marks have been engraved on the dies by each moneyer's direction or request, to distinguish the coins he was personally responsible for, *within the period the mint-mark proper was being used*, that whenever a "trial" took place he might easily prove his own work to be good, and so get his "quietus?"

We know that great irregularity prevailed in Henry V.'s and VI.'s time, through the uncertain intervals occurring between each trial of the pix, and that Edward IV. restored the practice of assaying regularly every three

<sup>2</sup> See Ruding, on the duties of the Master, vol. i. p. 30. By a statute in the eighth year of Edward IV. the master or warden was absolutely required to put a privy mark on all the money, both silver and gold; so that he might "know and wite" which money had been of his working, and which not.

months.<sup>3</sup> This restoration of a strict rule took place in Edward's eighth year; and one might go on to say that those classes of his silver coins, which do not present the diversities observable in others, may belong to the period when the laxer mode of procedure obtained; while those which abound in these marks (as do groats bearing the cross, the rose, and the sun) find their place in the latter part of his reign when the assay was being made punctually once a quarter. While the trials were frequent we can readily understand how more, and more often, distinctive signs of separation would be needed to supplement the differences preserved by the chief mint-marks. However this may be, it would be convenient to allow some weight to my conjecture, even until such time as accurate knowledge takes its place, were it only that we might possess a principle as the basis of good classification, which would enable us to arrange these numerous pieces in a simpler way than we can without it. For any one who has taken the trouble to enter upon an examination of the various privy marks observable on Edward IV.'s silver coins—and their name is "legion"—will admit the necessity of doing so upon a plan, and be thankful to have one. In any such plan the broader we keep the lines of demarcation the more easy will it be for us to understand one another, as well as the coins; whereas, by allowing all variations of marking, of whatever kind and importance, to constitute classes, our lists of these coins become confusing, and bewilder the inquirer instead of assisting him. Only compare the catalogue of Edward IV. mint-marks at the end of "Silver Coins of England" with that in the body of the work, and I shall be understood at once. Such classes as are formed by Nos. 1 and 2, Nos. 12, 13, and 14,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Ruding, vol. i. p. 71.

<sup>4</sup> Hawkins, "English Silver Coins," pp. 112, 113.

it seems to me, ought to be thrown together; while Nos. 5, 7, and 11, I should wish to have placed in inferior rank, as being classes founded on distinctive marks of too slight a character.

Our acquaintance with these groats of Edward IV. has not increased materially since the days of Snelling. He gave the same list of mint-marks then, that we should give now, excepting the single addition of the "fleur-de-lis," which this particular find affords. For the Edward groat with Richard's badge of the boar's head, though inserted in the list of Edward IV.'s money published by Mr. Hawkins in 1841, was inserted doubtfully, with a suggestion in the notes alone that it probably belonged to Edward V. The probability he suggested was converted into certainty a few years later by the convincing demonstration of Mr. Sainthill; and so, as I say, the number stands now almost where it did a hundred years ago. If we may judge by the pages of the Numismatic Chronicle, it must be doubted whether collectors have devoted much attention of late years to this portion of the English coinage. And since a particular branch of study lies thus buried sometimes for a lengthened period, and then, being brought to light by circumstances, creates an interest for itself by which fresh discoveries in relation to it are made, let us hope for something from this find beyond any mere acquisition of ancient coins. It would be confessedly a gain to us all if some member of the Society, who has the time to give to the pursuit, were induced by these remarks to take the groats of the fifteenth century as a subject, and work upon it, so as to lift them up from their present level of neglect. The inquiry has its difficulties, there is no doubt, but I suspect results might be obtained fully worth the investigation.

HENRY IV., V., OR VI. GROATS.

Mint.	Obverse M. M.	Other Marks.	Reverse M. M.	Other Marks.	Weight.	No. Total.
					Circa.	
London	Obliterated	. . . . .	Plain +	♣ after LONDON . . . . .	60 grs.	2
"	Pierced +	. . . . .	Plain +	* after POSVI and LONDON . . . . .	60 "	1
						3
Calais	Obliterated	Annulets at side of neck	+	{ Annulets in centre of pellets in two qrs., x after VILLÆ and CÆLLISÆ . . . . .	" . . . . .	1
"	+	Ditto . . . . .	+	* after CÆLLISÆ . . . . .	" . . . . .	1
"	Obliterated	Ditto . . . . .	+	VILLÆLÆ, * after CÆLLISÆ . . . . .	" . . . . .	2
						4
						7

## LIGHT GROATS OF HENRY VI. STRUCK DURING HIS SHORT RESTORATION IN 1470 A.D.

Mint.	Obverse M.M.	Other Marks.	Reverse M.M.	Other Marks.	Weight.	No.	Total.
London	+		+	• • • • •	45½ grs.	1	
"	+ hENRRIQ	{ All these London groats differ slightly from Mr. Hawkins' list.	+	• after DENVN	46½ "	1	
"	+ another		+	• after DENVN	46 "	1	
"	+ +		+	• after DENVN	46½ "	1	
"	+ and +		+ + +	• (?) after DENVN	42 "	5	
		hENRRIQ			47 "		8
York	+ (lis)		+		{ 40½ " 47½ " 40½ "	3	
							11

## SUMMARY OF ABOVE.

## Henry IV., V. or VI. :—

London . . . . . 3

Calais . . . . . 4

## Henry VI., Light Groats :—

London . . . . . 8

York . . . . . 3

18

## EDWARD IV. GROATS.

Class I. of Hawkins, thus described:—"Mint-mark, Cross pierced and pellet; rose after Deann. M.B."

Mint.	Obverse M. M.	Other Marks.	Reverse M. M.	Other Marks.	No. Total
London	+	{ As in Hawkins, but with and without pellet, the cross patée and plain, pierced and not pierced. }	+	☉ after DÆVΩ . . . . .	7
		Varieties.			
"	+	Sometimes the pellet omitted	+	☉ omitted . . . . .	10
"	+	"	+	♠ after DÆVΩ . . . . .	1
"	+	"	+	✚ after DÆVΩ . . . . .	3
"	+	"	+	◊ after DÆVΩ . . . . .	2
"	+	"	+	✱ after DÆVΩ . . . . .	3
"	+	"	+	☉ after ∟DIVTORÆ . . . . .	1
"	+	Pellet at each side of neck . { Pellet at each side—one has two pellets on left . }	+	. . . . .	2
"	+	"	+	☉ after POSVI and ∟DIVTORÆ	1
"	+	"	+	{ ☉ after POSVL, and . . . . . }	4
"	+	"	+	{ ✱ after ADIVTORÆ . . . . . }	
"	+	"	+	{ ✱ after POSVL, and . . . . . }	2
"	+	"	+	{ ☉ after DÆVΩ . . . . . }	
"	+	"	+	{ × after POSVL, . . . . . }	
"	+	"	+	{ ☉ (?) after DÆVΩ, and . . . . . }	1
"	+	"	+	{ ✱ after ∟DIVTORÆ . . . . . }	
"	+	"	No M. M.	☉ after POSVI and LONDON . . . . .	1
"	+	"	O	No rose . . . . .	1
"	+	"	♠ M. M.	Rose omitted . . . . .	2



EDWARD IV. GROATS (*continued*).

Class II. of Hawkins, thus described :—"Cross with pellet in each angle. Reverse mint-mark, Cross pierced."

Mint.	Obverse M. M.	Other Marks.	Reverse M. M.	Other Marks.	No. Total.
"	‡	As in Hawkins	†		41

Class III. of Hawkins, thus described :—"Mint-mark, cross fischee; trefoil at each side of neck.  
Reverse mint-mark, sun."

"	†	♣ at each side of the neck	✱	As in Hawkins	10
<i>Varieties.</i>					
"	†	No trefoil	✱		3
"	†	No trefoil	✱		1
"	†	No trefoil	†		1
					15

Class IV. of Hawkins, thus described :—"Heraldic cinquefoil, rose on breast, and after DEVM."

"	✱	Rose on breast	✱	⊗ after DEVM	27
<i>Varieties.</i>					
"	✱	others between REX and INGL			2
"	✱		✱	⊗ after DEVM	1
"	✱		✱	⊗ after POSVI	1
"	✱		✱	⊗ after DIVTORE	2
"	✱		✱	No rose	2
					35

{ Cinque foil  
omitted—a  
blunder (?) }









Class VI. of Hawkins, thus described:—"Mint-mark, Rose; annulet at each side of neck; lozenge after CIVITVS."

London		o at each side . . . .		◇ (?) after CIVITVS . . . .	3
"		pellet at each side . . . .		◇ (?) after CIVITVS . . . .	1
		(a trifling variety).			—
					4

Class VII. of Hawkins, thus described:—" (Rose mint-mark) quatrefoil instead of annulet; dot in one quarter (no lozenge after CIVITVS ?)"

! }		✦ at each side . . . .		{ • between the pellets in one } quarter . . . . .	42
"					

*Varieties.*

"		✦ omitted . . . . .		• in one quarter . . . . .	2
"		✦ at each side . . . . .		The dot omitted . . . . .	5
"		✦ The quatrefoil appears like four pellets •• at each side; in another the ✦ on right is obscured or blurred . . .		The dot omitted, four pellets . .	2
"		{ ✦ on king's breast; ✦ as usual . . . . . }		Dot in quarter . . . . .	3
					—
					55



## Class XII. of Hawkins, thus described :—" Mint-mark, annulet."

London		○		.....		○		.....		28	
<i>Varieties.</i>											
"		○		.....		○		.....		2	
"		○		.....		○		.....		1	
										31	

New Type—*i.e.* a London mint-mark not mentioned in Hawkins. Mint-mark, Fleur-de-lis; a lis also after  $\pi$ DIIVTORQ.  $\pi$ ESVI, for POSVI.

"		+		.....		+		+	after $\pi$ DIIVTORQ	.....		1		1
(The weight of this coin is about 35 grs.)														
Bristol		✠		at each side of neck		✠		✠	BRISTOLL	.....		5		
"		✠		at each side		✠		✠	BRISTOW	.....		6		
"		*		"		*		*	{ One reads BRISTOLL			3		
"		*		"		*		*	{ One reads BRISTOLL					
"		*		No quaterfoil		○		○	{ The other BRISTOW			1		
"		⊗		"		Clipped		Clipped	{ Heads BRISTOW			1		
										16				
										332				

EDWARD IV. GROATS (*continued*).New Type (*continued*).

Mint.	Obverse M. M.	Other Marks.	Reverse M. M.	Other Marks.	No. Total.
Coventry	✱	{ U on king's breast, ✱ on each side . . . . }	✱	As in Hawkins . . . .	332 3
Norwich	✱	{ R on king's breast, ✱ at each side . . . . }	✱	{ NORWIC and NORWIC, as in Hawkins . . . . }	9 9
York	✱	{ U on breast, ✱ at each side of neck . . . . }	✱	As in Hawkins . . . .	24
"	✱	✱ at each side . . . .	✱	. . . .	2
"	✱	✱ . . . .	✱	. . . .	3
"	✱	✱ . . . .	✱	. . . .	1
					30
Dublin	✱	{ EDWTRDVS DEI GRZ DVS hYBERNIE . . }	✱	{ POSVI DEVM, &c. . . . }	1
"	✱	As above . . . .	✱	OLIVITVS DVBLINIE . . ✱ also after OLIVITVS . . .	1
Drogheda	✱	. . . .	✱	VILLT DE DROGHEDA . .	1 3
					377

## ABSTRACT OF EDWARD IV. GROATS.

Arranged as classed in the "Silver Coins of England."				No. of Coins.	VARIETIES.	
					No.	No. of Coins.
Class	I.	†	. . . . .	41	14	34
"	II.	‡	. . . . .	2		
"	III.	†	. . . . .	15	3	5
"	IV.	✱	. . . . .	34	4	6
"	VI.	⊗ ◊	. . . . .	4	1	1
"	VII.	⊗ .	. . . . .	55	5	13
"	VIII.	✱	. . . . .	32	6	11
"	IX.	☞	. . . . .	69		
"	X.	☞ ✱	. . . . .	31		
"	XII.	○	. . . . .	31	2	3
"	New	✱ <sup>1</sup>	. . . . .	1	1	1
Bristol			. . . . .	16	2	2
Coventry			. . . . .	3		
Norwich			. . . . .	9		
York			. . . . .	30		
Dublin			. . . . .	2		
Drogheda			. . . . .	1		
Unassigned			. . . . .	3		
				379	38	76

<sup>1</sup> Since this paper was in type it has been suggested by my friend Mr. Evans that this London groat with the "lis" m. m. is perhaps a forgery of Edward IV.'s time. Its want of weight is certainly not in its favour. Though it was written of moneyers themselves, a few reigns before this, "Sunt monetarii regis qui . . . . ., quidam autem debitum pondus Libræ non apponunt" (Ruding, vol. i. p. 77), yet the mis-spelling of POSVI adds some weight to the suggestion.

EDWARD V. GROATS.				
Mint.	Obverse M. M.	Other Marks.	Reverse M. M.	No. Total.
"	{ Rose and sun united, as on R. III. groats.	EDWTRD. DL., &c.	{ Rose and sun united.	5
"	"	EDWTRD	{ Rose and sun united.	2
				7
RICHARD III. GROATS.				
"	Boar's head	RICTRD. DL., &c.	Boar's head	6
"	Boar's head	"	{ Rose and sun united.	1
"	{ Rose and sun united.	"	{ Rose and sun united.	9
				16
HENRY VII. GROATS.—First Coinage.				
London	{ Lis upon a rose	"	{ Lis upon a rose	3
"	Lis on rose	✦ on king's breast also	* ?	1
"	⊗	{ ✦ on king's breast, and at each side of neck is a small +	+	1
"	+	"	{ + after POSVI + divides LONDON	1
"	Illegible	"	{ + after CIVITVS	1
				7

## HENRY VII. GROATS.—Second Coinage.

"	None	+ at each side of neck	{ Small tre-foil }	* after POSVL, DÆVVM, } 3
"	Cross crosslet?	.	.	ADIVTORÆ . . . . . 1
"	*	.	*	. . . . . 2
				— 6

HENRY VII.:—First Coinage . . . . . 7  
 Second Coinage . . . . . 6

—  
 13

## GENERAL SUMMARY OF THE WHOLE FIND.

Henry IV., V., or VI.	. . . . .	7
Henry VI. light groats	. . . . .	11
Edward IV.	. . . . .	379
Edward V.	. . . . .	7
Richard III.	. . . . .	16
Henry VII.	. . . . .	13
	—	433





R



X.

ON AN UNPUBLISHED HALFCROWN OF CHARLES I., STRUCK AT ABERYSTWITH, AND ITS CONNECTION WITH THE SHREWSBURY MINT.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, April 19th, 1866.]

COINS struck during the reign of Charles I. are by many numismatists considered the most interesting of the English series; nevertheless an unknown variety does not usually receive that attention which is bestowed on a coin of another period. This must be attributed to the difficulty, nay, impossibility, of assigning most of the scarce pieces to any particular town, or of forming any opinion whatever respecting them. It may therefore be not uninteresting to learn that an unpublished variety (possibly unique) of the Aberystwith halfcrown is in my possession. Fortunately it is not one of the uncertain pieces which cannot be classified, but is important as throwing some light on a subject which has hitherto been discussed without much ground for discussion. The obverse of this coin resembles the Aberystwith halfcrown, and has also the Open Book m.m.; the reverse, however, is remarkable as having the declaration similar to the Oxford and Bristol pieces, above which is but one plume in the place of three. The legend is EXVRGAT, &c., and the date 1642. I will now point out what I consider important as well as curious in this coin:—

Firstly. It is, I imagine, the connecting link between

the Aberystwith and the Shrewsbury mints, and I give hereafter my reasons for forming this opinion.

Secondly. It is important as contradicting the statement of Folkes, p. 83, when he tells us that—

“The Open Book was used as a mint-mark from October 1637, until 10 July, 1641, and that it was afterwards resumed on coins in 1643, supposed to have been struck at Oxford.”

And this paragraph being reproduced without remark by Mr. Hawkins, I conclude that this gentleman has not met with a coin with the Open Book m.m., and dated 1642.

And, thirdly. It is curious as having on the reverse but one plume; and I am not aware that a halfcrown of Charles I. has yet been published with this peculiarity. The coronet from which the plume issues is peculiar, and has no bands beneath it, and the declaration differs somewhat in abbreviation from any coin struck at Oxford, Bristol, Chester,<sup>1</sup> or Exeter. It reads—

RELIG: PROT. LEG. ANGL. LIBERT. PARL.

My reasons for considering this coin to be the connecting link between the Aberystwith and Shrewsbury mints I will now state.

Mr. Hawkins, p. 181, thus writes respecting a halfcrown which he thinks might have been struck at Shrewsbury:—

“There is one halfcrown which is dated 1642, without the letters OX, which appears to belong to the Aberystwith family; it is without m.m., but has in the place of it four dots; the horse's head is slightly turned towards the spectator, and very strongly resembles in character and workmanship the pieces with the anchor, or triangle m.m., and which were struck in 1638 and 1639. The reverse is much coarser than the obverse,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hawkins appears in doubt as to the m.m. on this coin, the Museum specimen being imperfect. The piece in my cabinet has the three gerbs.

which had probably been executed some time before, and was now applied to a reverse hastily executed for an especial purpose. It is not improbable that this piece was struck at Shrewsbury during the King's short residence there, upon the first promulgation of the declaration which is recorded on the reverse, the M. M. on the obverse having perhaps been erased from a die brought with the mint from Aberystwith."

In this opinion I quite agree, especially as I possess seven halfcrowns dated 1642, one of which has six dots in lieu of a mint-mark, and in workmanship and general appearance very closely resembles the Aberystwith type. I do not, however, perceive that the reverse is of coarser work than the obverse, as appears to be the case with the coin mentioned by Mr. Hawkins, although in other respects it quite answers to his description. This halfcrown has three plumes over the declaration which are characterised by the same peculiar work as the single plume on the Aberystwith piece; and moreover there is nothing in its appearance to lead me to suppose that it emanates from Oxford, for it differs entirely from the coins given to this city, which are all of bolder and coarser work. The following extracts are taken from Ruding, and have reference to the Aberystwith, Shrewsbury, and Oxford mints:—

(Vol. ii. p. 209.) "Nothing further is known respecting the coinage of money in this place (Shrewsbury) until the year 1642 (this seems to have taken place in September. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xi. p. 433), when King Charles I. removed from Nottingham to this town, and erected his mint, in which was coined the remainder of the plate given by the two Universities. part of which had already been minted at York. This mint (Shrewsbury) was under the direction of Mr. Bushell, the officers of the Aberystwith mint being removed to this place, where they did not continue long, being soon ordered to Oxford, where they arrived on the 3rd of January, 1642. It is not known that the money which was coined at Shrewsbury was distinguished by any particular mark."

(Vol. i. p. 398.) "This mint (Shrewsbury) did not continue long, as Clarendon represents it 'more for reputation

than use, because (for want of workmen and instruments) they could not coin a thousand pounds a week.' "

(Vol. ii. pp. 206, 207.) " Charles I. having removed from Shrewsbury, and having fought, on Sunday, the 23<sup>rd</sup> of October, 1642, the battle of Edgehill, came on the 28<sup>th</sup> of the same month to this city (Oxford), where the several colleges presented him with all that remained of their plate, and with all the money left in their several treasuries. On Tuesday, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of January, in the same year, there came into this city, and to the Court, divers carts to the number of twelve, or more, loaden with Prince Rupert's goods, and with the mint from Shrewsbury, and with some good store of silver ore to be melted into silver, and coined into money."

From these extracts we gather that King Charles removed from Nottingham in 1642, and proceeded to Shrewsbury, where he erected his mint; afterwards, on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of October, in the same year, he fought the battle of Edgehill, and came to Oxford on the 28<sup>th</sup>, at which place he commenced coining money at the end of the year.<sup>2</sup>

That money was issued from the mint at Shrewsbury will not be doubted; and it must also be allowed that such coins would naturally resemble the Aberystwith type, having been struck under the directions of the same officers. Now a few pieces are known having dots in place of m. m., which bear this strong resemblance, and these few (which are extremely rare) I venture to claim for Shrewsbury. The specimen with the Open Book m.m. was probably one of the last coins struck at Aberystwith, as perhaps it was one of the first to publish to the world the declaration that Charles I. intended to uphold the Protestant religion, the laws and liberties of the people, and the rights of Parliament.

J. FREDERICK NECK.

<sup>2</sup> Ruding is written on the old system, when the year commenced in March.

## NOTICE OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

In No. 6 (November and December) of the *Revue Numismatique* for 1865, there are the following articles:—

1. "On some Silver Coins attributed either to Carthage or to Panormus, or to the Punic Armies in Sicily," by M. A. Judas.
2. "Observations on Three Brass Roman Medallions," by M. A. de Longpérier.

The last of the three medallions here published by M. Longpérier is a contorniate of Sallust, with the remarkable reverse legend NVSMAGCONMONIMVS, a legend which has puzzled all numismatists. In the first place, M. de Longpérier shows that the sixth letter is a G, and not a C, as always hitherto asserted, and then divides the legend into three parts, NVS. MAG. CONMONIMVS, namely, *Nos Magna Commonuimus*. There are also some interesting remarks on the monogram EP, so frequent on the contorniates.

3. "Sterlings of Sancerre," by M. P. Mantellier.

4. "Provincial Coins," by M. Louis Blancard.

5. "Scandinavian Coins found at Vevey, in Switzerland," by M. A. Morel Fatio.

In the *Bulletin Bibliographique* is a notice by M. Fatio of the second part of the *Numismatisches Legenden-Lexicon des Mittel-alters und der Neu-zeit*, by W. Rentzmann.

In the *Nécrologie* are brief notices of Dr. Voillemier, M. Migliarini, M. Thomsen, M. Cavedoni, M. Soret, and M. Streber.

THE INITIAL COINAGE OF BENGAL, INTRODUCED BY THE MUHAMMADANS ON THEIR CONQUEST OF THE COUNTRY, A.H. 600 to 800 (A.D. 1203—1397). By EDWARD THOMAS, late E.I.C.S. 8vo. pp. 80, with 2 plates.

IN this work the author gives a detailed account of the coins struck by the early Muhammadan rulers of Bengal, of which a large hoard, consisting of no less than 13,500 pieces of silver, discovered in August, 1863, in the protected state of Kooth Bahar, principally consisted. Of this hoard a short notice has already been given in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S. vol. v. p. 217; and to the list there given of coins issued from Bengal mints may be added those of Riziah, daughter of Altamsh, and Queen Regnant of Muhammadan India, struck at Jalalat-din and at Laknauti. In the introductory portion of the book the Oriental numismatist will find much to interest him in a discussion of the nature and character of the early Bengal currency and its subdivisions, while the whole memoir gives a complete view of the subject of which it treats.

## MISCELLANEA.

ON A HOARD OF ROMAN COINS FOUND IN THE MENDIP HILLS.—It was in the course of last autumn that a workman employed in the Mendip Hills, about six miles from Frome, came upon a hoard of Roman brass coins, about a foot beneath the surface, and, according to the description given, “with some dust surrounding them.” About twelve months previously a hoard of about 230 Roman coins was found in a field close by. In the present instance the number of coins found appears to have been about 452, of which 40 came into the hands of Mr. Charles Moore, F.G.S., of Bath, who has kindly furnished me with the following particulars of them:—

Tetricus . . . . .	1
Helena . . . . .	1
Constantine the Great . . . . .	16
Fausta . . . . .	1
Time of Constantine . . . . .	2
Crispus . . . . .	7
Constantine II. . . . .	9
Constantius II. . . . .	3
	—
	40

The remaining 412 coins came into my possession, but the only additional name which they present is that of Licinius I. The most remarkable feature in the hoard is the singularly fine preservation of a large proportion of the coins, which is no doubt due to two causes—viz., that the coins had for the most part been but little in circulation when deposited, and that the nature of the surrounding soil was very propitious for their preservation. From the absence of coins of Constans, who was made Cæsar in A.D. 333, and from Constantine II. and Constantius II. only appearing with the titles of Cæsar, the hoard appears to have been deposited before the death of Constantine the Great, in A.D. 337; while the presence of coins of Constantinopolis, and of a few of the small module, seems to show that it cannot have been much before that date. As might be expected in such a hoard, the places of mintage are numerous, though the coins of the Trèves Mint predominate. There are specimens from the London Mint of Constantine the Great and the Younger, Crispus, and Constantius II. The mints of Tarraco, Rome, and some of the eastern cities are also present, and it is rather remarkable,

as affording an additional argument in favour of regarding the mints of Constantina and Arelatum as belonging to the same town, that the only two coins of Constantine the Great with the reverse PROVIDENTIAE AVGG, which have the letters S—F on the field, bear respectively the mint-marks ARL P and S. CONST. Among the coins are a few of uncommon types, and also one or two unpublished varieties. They are, however, hardly of sufficient consequence to be worth particularly citing. Perhaps the most important of the rarer coins is that of Crispus in the Imperial consular dress, and with the title, N. C. COS. II., which, however, is unfortunately amongst the worst preserved of all the coins.

## HELENA.

*Obv.*—FL HELENA AVGVSTA. Bust diademed, right.

*Rev.*—SECVRITAS REIPVBLICE. Veiled figure holding a branch. (Cohen 7.) In exergue, STRE . . . . . 7  
 Ditto. In exergue, STRE . . . . . 1  
 Ditto. In exergue, PTRE . . . . . 5  
 Ditto. In exergue, TOT . . . . . 1  
 Ditto. F. in field on *rev.* uncertain. 1

15

## FAUSTA.

1. *Obv.*—FLAV MAX FAVSTA AVG. Bust to right.  
*Rev.*—SALVS REIPVBLICAE. Fausta standing to left, holding the infants Constantine II. and Constantius. (Cohen 7.) In exergue, STRΩ . . . . . 8
2. *Rev.*—Ditto, but Fausta facing on *rev.* (Cohen 9.) Exergue illegible . . . . . 1
3. *Rev.*—SPES REIPVBLICAE. As No. 1. (Cohen 12.) In exergue, PTRΩ . . . . . 1
4. *Rev.*—As No. 3. In exergue, QOT . . . . . 1

11

## LICINIUS, SEN.

1. *Obv.*—IMP LICINIVS AVG. Bust laureate to right. (Cohen 43.)  
*Rev.*—DOMINI. N. LICINI. AVG. In centre

- of a wreath, VOT. XX. In exergue,  
 AQS . . . . . 1
2. *Obv.*—IMP LICINIVS P. F. AVG. Bust laureate, and with paludamentum to right.  
*Rev.*—GENIO POP ROM. Genius standing. (Cohen 66.) T—F on field. In exergue,  
 ATR . . . . . 2
3. *Obv.*—As No. 2.  
*Rev.*—As No. 2. A S? on field. In exergue,  
 PTR . . . . . 1
- 4

## CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

1. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Laureate bust to right, with sceptre.  
*Rev.*—BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. On altar VOTIS XX. (Cohen 192.)  
 Exergue, PTR . . . . . 6  
 " PTR . . . . . 5  
 " PTR . . . . . 6  
 " STR . . . . . 1  
 " STR . . . . . 3
- 21
2. *Obv.*—As No. 1, with cuirass. (Cohen 191.)  
*Rev.*—As No. 1. In field, CR. In exergue,  
 PLO. . . . . 4
3. *Obv.*—As No. 1. Head laureate, shoulders bare. (Cohen 190.)  
*Rev.*—As No. 1. In field, CR. In exergue,  
 PLO. . . . . 1  
 Uncertain . . . . . 1
- 2
4. *Obv.*—As No. 1, but CONSTANTINVS AG (*sic*).  
*Rev.*—As No. 3. . . . . 1
5. *Obv.*—As No. 1. Bust with helmet and cuirass. (Cohen 194.)



			28
<i>Rev.</i> —As No. 1.	In exergue, PTR . . . .	3	
	„ PTR . . . .	4	
	„ STR . . . .	4	
	„ STR . . . .	1	
	„ STR . . . .	3	
	„ STR . . . .	2	
	Uncertain . . . .	5	
			22
5A. <i>Obv.</i> —CONSTANTINVS AVG.	Laureate bust to left in imperial robes and holding a sceptre. (Cohen 193.)		
<i>Rev.</i> —As No. 1.	In exergue, STR . . . .	1	
	„ P. LON . . . .	1	
			2
6. <i>Obv.</i> —CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG.	Laureate bust to right, in cuirass. (Cohen 197.)		
<i>Rev.</i> —As No. 1.	C—R in field. In exergue, PLO		2
7. <i>Obv.</i> —CONSTANTINVS AVG.	Head laureate to right.		
<i>Rev.</i> —D. N. CONSTANTINI MAX. AVG.	In wreath, VOT XX. (Cohen 246.)		
	In exergue, P* A . . . .	3	
	„ P* AR . . . .	2	
	„ S* AR . . . .	2	
	„ AQP . . . .	2	
	„ R P . . . .	1	
	„ R Q . . . .	1	
	„ ASIS . . . .	2	
	„ (a crescent under VOT XX.) PT	1	
	„ ST . . . .	1	
	„ TSAVI . . . .	2	
	Uncertain . . . .	5	
			22
8. <i>Obv.</i> —As No. 7.			
<i>Rev.</i> —As No. 7, but VOT XXX	(Cohen 252).		
	In exergue, ST . . . .		1
9. <i>Obv.</i> —IMP CONSTANTINVS AVG.	Laureate bust to right, with paludamentum.		
<i>Rev.</i> —CLARITAS REIPV[BLICAE].	The sun standing, in front a crescent. Not in Cohen. In exergue, PLN . . .		1

10. *Obv.*—CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG. Diademed bust to right, with paludamentum. 78
- Rev.*—CONSTANTINIANA DAFNE. Usual type. (Cohen 238.) In exergue, CONS 1
11. *Obv.*—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Head laureate to right.
- Rev.*—D. N. CONSTANTINI MAX AVG. Gate of Prætorian camp. (Cohen 244.)  
 In exergue, T T . . . . . 1  
 „ Q T . . . . . 1 2
12. *Obv.*—CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG. Bust to right in diadem and robed.
- Rev.*—GLORIA EXERCITVS. Usual type. (Cohen 347.) In exergue, P. CONST 2  
 Small. „ TR S . . 2 4
13. *Obv.*—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Head laureate to right.
- Rev.*—SARMATIA DEVIOTA. Usual type. (Cohen 451.) In exergue, P\*AR. . 1  
 „ PLC . . 1  
 C on field. „ PLC . . 9  
 C on field. „ PLC . . 2  
 „ PTR . . 3  
 „ PTR . . 8  
 „ STR . . 5  
 „ STR . . 3  
 Uncertain . . . . 4 36
14. *Obv.*—IMP CONSTANTINVS AVG. Laureate bust to right, with cuirass.
- Rev.*—SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Usual type. (Cohen 470.) N—S? in field.  
 In exergue, PLC . . . . . 1  
 T—F in field. In exergue, ATR . . 2 3
15. *Obv.*—IMP CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Laureate bust to right with paludamentum. (Cohen 474.)

	<i>Rev.</i> —As last. In field, S—F. In exergue, RS .	1	124
	„ C—S. „ TR ?	1	
			2
16.	<i>Obv.</i> —CONSTANTINVS P. F. AVG. Laureate bust to right, in cuirass. (Cohen 466.)		
	<i>Rev.</i> —As last. In field, T—F. In exergue, BTR.	1	
17.	<i>Obv.</i> —As No. 15.		
	<i>Rev.</i> —As last, but a captive to left. (Cohen 478.) In exergue, RQ . . . . .	1	
18.	<i>Obv.</i> —CONSTANTINVS. Laureate head to right.		
	<i>Rev.</i> —PROVIDENTIAE AVGG. Gate of camp. (Cohen 433.) In field, S—F.		
	In exergue, ARLP . . . . .	1	
	In field, S—F. In exergue, S. CONST	1	
	„ PTR . . . . .	8	
	„ PTR . . . . .	9	
	„ PTRE . . . . .	6	
	„ PTRE . . . . .	16	
	„ STR . . . . .	2	
	„ STR . . . . .	11	
	„ STRE . . . . .	1	
	„ STRE . . . . .	10	
	„ PLO . . . . .	2	
	„ ROS . . . . .	1	
	„ SMNT ? . . . . .	1	
	Uncertain . . . . .	3	
			72
19.	<i>Obv.</i> —IMP CONSTANTINVS AVG. Armed bust to left. (Cohen 509.)		
	<i>Rev.</i> —VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP. Two Victories holding a shield, with VOT. P. R. In exergue, — — —	1	
20.	<i>Obv.</i> —CONSTANTINVS AVG. Head with diadem to right.		
	<i>Rev.</i> —VIRTVS AVGG. Open gate of camp. (Cohen 524.) In field, S—F.		
	In exergue, S. CONST . . . . .	3	
	„ SAURL . . . . .	1	
	Uncertain . . . . .	1	

21. *Obv.*—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Laureate bust to right, in cuirass.  
*Rev.*—VIRTVS EXERC. Standard between two captives, inscribed VOT XX. (Cohen 537.) In field, C—R. In exergue, PLC 1
22. *Obv.*—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Laureate head to right.  
*Rev.*—PROVIDENTIAE CAESS. Gate of Prætorian camp. (Not in Cohen.)  
 Exergue illegible . . . . . 1  
 „ Q=AR. . . . . 1 2
- 209

## CONSTANTINOPOLIS.

- Obv.*—CONSTANTINOPOLIS. Usual head. (Cohen 15.)  
*Rev.*—Usual type. In exergue, PLC . . . . 1  
 „ TR·P . . . . 3 4
- 

## CRISPUS.

1. *Obv.*—CRISPVS N. C. COS II. Laureate bust to left in imperial robes, holding a globe surmounted by a victory.  
*Rev.*—BEATA TRANQUILLITAS. Altar with VOTIS XX. (Cohen 31.) In field, C—R. In exergue, PLC . . . 1
2. CRISPVS NOB CAES. Laureate head to right. (Cohen 32.)  
*Rev.*—As No. 1. In field, C—R. In exergue, PLC 3
3. *Obv.*—As No. 2, but laureate bust to right, with cuirass. (Cohen 33.)  
*Rev.*—As No. 1. In field, C—R. In exergue, PLC 6  
 Two have the legend continuous above the altar.
4. *Obv.*—As No. 3, but with paludamentum. (Not in Cohen.)  
*Rev.*—As No. 1. In field, C—R. In exergue, PLC 1

- 11
5. *Obv.*—As No. 2. Laureate bust to left, in cuirass, and holding a shield and buckler. (Cohen 34.)
- Rev.*—As No 1. In exergue, PTR . . . . 1  
Uncertain . . . . . 1
- 2
6. *Obv.*—As No. 2. Helmeted bust to right. (Cohen 35.)
- Rev.*—As No. 1. In field, C—R. In exergue, PLC 1
7. *Obv.*—CRISPVS NOBIL C. Helmeted bust to left. (Cohen 52.)
- Rev.*—BEAT TRANQLITAS. As No. 1. In exergue, PLON . . . . . 1
8. *Obv.*—As No. 2. Laureate bust to right, holding a *sceptre*. (Not in Cohen.)
- Rev.*—As No. 2. In field, C—R. In exergue, PLC 1
9. *Obv.*—IVL CRISPVS NOB CAES. Laureate bust to left, with cuirass, and holding a spear and shield.
- Rev.*—As No. 1. In exergue, PTR . . . . 2  
„ STR . . . . 3
- 5
10. *Obv.*—As No. 9, but with the spear turned back over the shoulder, and the shield held differently.
- Rev.*—As No. 1. In exergue, STR. . . . 1  
„ STR. . . . . 3
- 4
11. *Obv.*—D. N. CRISPO NOB. CAES. Laureate bust to right, with paludamentum.
- Rev.*—As No. 1. In exergue, PLC . . . . 1
12. *Obv.*—CRISPVS NOB CAES. Laureate head to right. (Cohen 68.)
- Rev.*—CAESARVM NOSTRORVM. A wreath in which is VOT. X. between two palm-branches. In exergue, AQS . . 1
13. *Obv.*—As No. 12. Laureate bust to right, in cuirass.

- Rev.*—As No. 12. In exergue, AQS . . . . 27  
1  
14. *Obv.*—As No. 12. (Cohen 63.)  
*Rev.*—As No. 12, but without the palm-branches.  
In exergue, P\*AR? . . . . 1  
Uncertain . . . . 1  
2  
15. *Obv.*—IVL CRISPVS NOB C. Laureate bust  
to right, the neck bare. (Cohen 65.)  
*Rev.*—As No. 14. In exergue, PLONJ . . . 2  
" PLCC . . . 1  
" PTR . . . 2  
" PTRJ . . . 4  
" STR . . . 2  
" STRJ . . . 6  
One struck on a coin of Constantine.  
In exergue, ASISW . . . 2  
Uncertain . . . . 5  
24  
16. *Obv.*—FL. IVL CRISPVS NOB CAES.  
Laureate bust in paludamentum to left.  
(Cohen 67.)  
*Rev.*—As No. 14. In exergue, PLCC . . . 2  
17. *Obv.*—As No. 16. Laureate bust to right,  
with paludamentum. (Cohen 70.)  
*Rev.*—CLARITAS REIPVBLICAE. The  
sun standing. In field, F—T. In  
exergue, BTR . . . . 1  
18. *Obv.*—FL. IVL. CRISPVS NOB. CAES.  
Laureate bust to right, with paluda-  
mentum. (Cohen 106.)  
*Rev.*—PROVIDENTIAE CAESS. Gate of  
camp. In exergue, PLC . . . . 1  
" PTR . . . . 1  
2  
19. *Obv.*—As No. 18. Laureate bust to left,  
with paludamentum. (Cohen 107.)  
*Rev.*—As No. 18. In exergue, PTR . . . . 2  
" PLC . . . . 1  
" Uncertain . . . 2  
" RS . . . . 1  
6

20. *Obv.*—CRISPVS NOB CAES. Laureate bust to left, in cuirass? (Cohen 128?)

*Rev.*—VIRTVS CAESS. Gate with four towers. In exergue, TAUR . . .

1

66

# CONSTANTINUS, JUN.

1. *Obv.*—CONSTANTINVS IVN. N. C. Laureate bust to right, with paludamentum. (Cohen 76)

*Rev.*—BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. An altar, with VOT XX. C—R in field. In exergue, PLC . . . . .

6

2. *Obv.*—CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Laureate bust to left in imperial robes, holding a globe, on which is a Victory. (Cohen 84?)

*Rev.*—As No. 1. No letters in field. Exergue uncertain . . . . .

2

3. *Obv.*—As No. 2. Helmeted bust to right, with cuirass. (Cohen 85.)

*Rev.*—As No. 2. In exergue, PTR . . . . .

2

4. *Obv.*—As No. 2. Laureate bust to right, neck bare.

*Rev.*—As No. 1. C—R in field. In exergue, PLC

1

5. *Obv.*—D. N. CONSTANTINO IVN N. C. Laureate bust to right in imperial robes, holding a globe.

*Rev.*—As No. 1. C—R in field. In exergue, P.

1

6. *Obv.*—As No. 1. Radiated bust to left, in cuirass. (Cohen 80.)

*Rev.*—As No. 2. In exergue, STR . . . . .

1

7. *Obv.*—As No. 2. Laureate head to right. (Cohen 99.)

*Rev.*—CAESARVM NOSTRORVM around a

13

wreath, in which is VOT. X.	
In exergue, Q*AR . . . . .	1
„ PLON	2
„ PLCC . . . . .	3
„ R'T . . . . .	1
„ ASIS	1
„ PTR . . . . .	1
„ PTR	8
„ STR . . . . .	5
„ STR	10
Uncertain . . . . .	5

37

8. *Obv.*—As No. 2. Laureate bust to left, with paludamentum. (Cohen 100.)  
*Rev.*—As No. 7. In exergue, PLCC . . . . . 1  
 Uncertain . . . . . 1

2

9. *Obv.*—CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C. Laureate bust to right, with paludamentum and cuirass. (Cohen 128.)  
*Rev.*—DOMINOR. NOSTRO. CAESS around a wreath, in which is VOT. XX. and a crescent. In exergue, QT . . . . . 1

1

10. *Obv.*—As No. 9. Laureate head to right. (Cohen 150.)  
*Rev.*—PROVIDENTIAE CAESS. Gate of camp. In exergue, CSIS . . . . . 1

1

11. *Obv.*—As No. 9. Laureate bust to right, with paludamentum and cuirass. (Cohen 151.)  
*Rev.*—As No. 10. In exergue, PTR . . . . . 1  
 „ PLON . . . . . 4  
 „ STR . . . . . 4

9

12. *Obv.*—As No. 11, but bust to left. (Cohen 152.)  
*Rev.*—As No. 10. In exergue, PLO . . . . . 1  
 „ ROT . . . . . 1  
 „ PTR . . . . . 1  
 „ PTR . . . . . 3  
 „ PTRE . . . . . 3  
 „ STR . . . . . 9  
 „ STRE . . . . . 3  
 Uncertain . . . . . 1

22





## SUMMARY.

Helena . . . . .	15
Fausta . . . . .	11
Licinius I. . . . .	4
Constantine the Great . . . . .	209
Constantinopolis . . . . .	4
Crispus . . . . .	66
Constantine II. . . . .	88
Constantius II. . . . .	15

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J. E.

THE LEGEND NVBIS CONS.—The interpretation of this legend, which occurs after the name of Romulus, the son of Maxentius, on many of his coins, has been the subject of much dispute among numismatists. M. de Longpériér, however, in the *Revue Numismatique*, N.S., vol. v., p. 36, pointed out what appears beyond doubt the proper interpretation of the legend, as DIVO ROMVLO N(obilissimo) V(iro) BIS CONS(uli). An inscription discovered on the site of the ancient Troesmis, in Lower Moesia, is of interest, both as affording corroboration, if such were needed, of M. de Longpériér's suggestion, and as giving an instance of the use of a nearly similar title at an earlier date. It is to the honour of Tib. Claud. Pompeianus, who was consul for the second time in 173, and is thus given by M. Léon Renier in the *Revue Archéologique* for December, 1865 (p. 405):—

TIBCLPOM  
PEIANOCV  
BISCONSVLI  
GVALFIRMVS  
7LEGIITAL.

“Tiberio Claudio Pompeiano clarissimo viro bis consuli Gaius Valerius Firmus, centurio legionis primæ Italicæ.”

J. E.

ON BEGGARS' MONEY OR TOKENS IN SMYRNA.—Among the peculiarities I have noticed in this numismatic metropolis of Smyrna, is the existence of a separate coinage for Greek beggars, of which I enclose a specimen for the inspection of the Numismatic Society, thinking that some member of the numismatic world at home may better be able to throw a light on this subject than we can here.

It will be seen that the coin is a specimen of the Nuremberg token, from the mints of that great toyshop of Germany, which

for so many centuries, from the middle ages till now, has produced jetons and tokens for Europe, and, as it seems, for Asia.

There are several types in circulation, but I do not suppose it is necessary to send any more, as the matter is of numismatic interest only in its general relations, and not for the collection of types, unless for those specially interested in jetons.

The Germans import these tokens, and they are sold to the hardware dealers in the bazaar. These chiefly sell them to some of the bakers, and the bakers supply their benevolent customers.

The profession of a beggar here hardly assumes the dignity that it does in some southern countries of Europe, and Spanish countries, nor is its inferiority compensated by its lucrativeness. I am speaking of the Greeks. I have only seen one mounted beggar in this city, and he was only on an ass, and attended by a boy. Mussulman fakirs, of course, may be seen on horseback.

As the Greek beggar contributes prayers in return for *paras*, of course so far he is a holy and reverend man; but perhaps on that account he is the worse paid, as the Greeks are rather inclined to pay veneration than money, even to the priesthood. It is to be observed that the gipsies here prefer telling fortunes to begging, which is another proof that the profession of begging is not lucrative.

The beggar, man or woman, is socially required to wear a costume of rags and patches while on duty, but what benefit accrues to the almsgivers from this is not apparent.

An evidence that it does not pay well is, that it is chiefly resorted to as a subsidiary pursuit, and it is very probable that many of the beggars of Smyrna are obliged to follow industrious callings in order to obtain a livelihood. There are very few regular beggars in the Greek quarters; the Greeks who are regular beggars resorting to the Turkish quarters, confident in the charity of the Turks.

The established day for begging, or, more properly speaking, for the collection of alms and the exchange of prayers, is Saturday. The beggar, in appropriate costume, then calls on his clients, and if not at once admitted, has the right, by custom, if not by law, of knocking at the door or window till the inmates yield to his monotonous disturbance. He then receives a coin.

The value of the coin being considered half a *para*, and there being forty *paras* or eighty of these coins in a *piastre*, the amount received by a beggar was until lately about the fifteenth part of a farthing, and with a farthing weekly fifteen beggars might be relieved, and with a penny fifty or sixty beggars. That any one ever spent an amount so extravagant in charity and the relief of his fellowmen is very much to be

doubted, except in grave sickness or some such extraordinary occasion. For usual household purposes the prayers of four or five beggars appear to be amply sufficient.

On account of an alteration in the currency there are now not much more than thirty-eight half paras in a penny, and the change is very much felt by the almsgiver, and much more by the beggars. It is reported that the beggars have struck, or rather, are striking the bars, doors, and windows, for a higher rate of pay, and some extortioners will not go away without as much as two half para pieces. If this goes on the stock of benevolence of the Greeks of Smyrna will run dry, and beggars will only be resorted to when children are sick, or there is some other emergency in which they can be useful.

It may well be conceived that the beggars must go over a good bit of ground to collect the price of even a half-quartern loaf, so that the mode of relief amounts to an effectual labour test; it may almost be said, a labour rate. The collected coins are taken to the bakers, and thence redistributed.

I have found the same coins in Constantinople, but whether they are found elsewhere in the Levant I do not know. The trade in tokens I presume to be an old one, and to have been followed up in the usual course.

The two questions that occur are:—

Do these tokens serve for any other purpose in any other part of the world, and for what are they coined?

Were such tokens coined or used for beggars in the middle ages?

My own impression is, that the practice of giving these minute coins to beggars is ancient, and long maintained and widely spread. I remember on one occasion acquiring a pot of coins, which appeared to be a beggar's hoard of the time of the succession of Constantine. There were not only the smallest coins, but there were halves and quarters regularly broken up, and some of these were quite defaced. The value of the whole at any time could not have exceeded five shillings, for there were very few first or second brass.

HYDE CLARKE,

Member of the German Oriental Society; of the Society of Northern Antiquaries; of the Academy of Anatolia; of the Institution of Engineers of Vienna; Local Secretary of the Anthropological Society.

Smyrna, 20th May, 1865.

ANCIENT ALPHABETS.—The bearing of ancient alphabets upon numismatic studies is too important not to merit attention. Mr. Thomas has recently read a most interesting paper to the Royal Asiatic Society (April 9, 1866) adverting to the various modes of writing in use in ancient India, and entitled "On the Adapted Alphabets of the Aryan Races." The results of his palæographical investigations are as follows:—"The Aryans invented no alphabet of their own, but were, in all their migrations, indebted to the nationality amid whom they settled for their mode of writing: (1) The *Persian Cuneiform* owed its origin to the Assyrian, and the Assyrian Cuneiform emanated from an antecedent Turanian symbolic character; (2) the *Greek* and *Latin* alphabets were manifestly derived from the Phœnician; (3) the *Bactrian* was adapted to its more precise functions by a reconstruction and amplification of Phœnician models; (4) the *Devanāgarī* was appropriated to the expression of the Sanskrit language from the pre-existing Indian Pāli or *Lāt* alphabet, which was obviously originated to meet the requirements of Turanian (Dravidian) dialects; (5) the *Pehlvi* was the offspring of later and already modified Phœnician letters; and (6) the *Zend* was elaborated out of the Pehlvi, but by a totally different method to that followed in the adaptation of the Semitic Bactrian." Mr. Thomas then traces the progress of the successive waves of Aryan immigration from the Oxus into the provinces of Ariania and the Hindu Kush, and the downward course of the pastoral races from their first entry into the Punjāb and the associate crude chants of the Vedic hymns to the establishment of the cultivated Brahmanic institutions on the banks of the Sarasvatī, and the elaboration of Sanskrit grammar at Taxila, connecting the advance of their literature with the simplified but extended alphabet they constructed in the Arianian provinces out of a very archaic type of Phœnician. This alphabet continued in official use under the Greek and Indo-Scythian rulers of Northern India, until it was superseded by the local Pāli, which is proved by Asoka's scattered inscriptions on rocks and monoliths (Lāts) to have constituted the current writing of the continent of India in B.C. 250, while a similar, if not identical, character is seen to have furnished the prototype of all the varying systems of writing employed by the different nationalities from Sind to Ceylon, and spread over Burmah, till the Indian Pāli meets Chinese alphabets on their own soil in Annam. In conclusion, Mr. Thomas points out the importance of the discoveries of Norris (*Jour. R. A. S.*, xv. 19) and Caldwell (*Dravidian Grammar*), derived from completely independent sources, regarding the Scythic origin of the introductory Indian alphabets.

## XI.

## ON SOME COINS OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, MACRINUS, AND PHILIP I., STRUCK AT APAMEIA, IN PHRYGIA, WITH THE LEGEND NQЄ;

WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE PRESUMED CHRISTIAN TENDENCIES OF THESE AND THE INTERVENING EMPERORS, TOGETHER WITH A NOTICE OF SOME RARE COINS OF TRAJAN DECIUS, STRUCK AT MÆONIA, IN LYDIA.

THE coins of Apameia, in Phrygia, with the legend NQЄ, are well known, that is to say, every Numismatist, if he has not seen specimens, has heard of them. Eckhel has, of course, published them with appropriate remarks.<sup>1</sup> Many consider them false, or think that the important letters have been added. Certainly they have never had any attention devoted to them in the pages of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. They are better known in France, there being two specimens in the *Bibliothèque*, two in the hands of a private collector, Mr. Waddington, and one in the cabinet of Messrs. Rollin and Feuardent.<sup>2</sup> Hence, perhaps, the reason of there being no mention of them in the *Revue Numismatique*. They have, however, at different and recent periods been briefly noticed in France

<sup>1</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 132, *seq*

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Waddington, who has kindly examined for me the specimens in Paris, informs me that the coin of Severus in the *Bibliothèque* is a fine patinated specimen, and would alone set the question at rest, and that the two specimens of the coin of Philip in his cabinet are from different dies, one being very fine.

by three gentlemen,—by M. le Baron de Witte,<sup>3</sup> by the late M. Charles Lenormant,<sup>4</sup> and by the late Abbé Greppo,<sup>5</sup>—to all of whom I am indebted for much valuable information, and more especially to the latter's admirable researches on the Christianity of certain of the Emperors. The work in which the papers of MM. de Witte and Lenormant are printed is a very costly one, and cannot be said to have general circulation. The works of the Abbé Greppo are very rare. I expect that few of the members of the Society have ever seen or consulted any of them. Besides the *brochures* of the Abbé Greppo, I must acknowledge much assistance from the voluminous work of Dr. Lardner.<sup>6</sup> I do not, therefore, think that the following notes will be without interest to English numismatic readers.

Before treating of the coins themselves I have thought it would make the paper more complete to give a brief account of the Christian tendencies of the Emperors under whom these coins were issued, and also of the Emperors who reigned between them; that is to say of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Macrinus, Elagabalus, Severus Alexander and his mother Mamæa, Maximinus I., the Gor-

<sup>3</sup> *Du Christianisme de quelques Impératrices Romaines avant Constantine*, published in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. iii. p. 163, *seq.* Paris, 1853.

<sup>4</sup> *Des signes de Christianisme qu'on trouve sur quelques Monuments Numismatiques du iii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, published in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. iii. p. 196, *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> *Trois Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique des premiers siècles*. Lyon, 1840. *Notes historiques, biographiques, archéologiques et littéraires, concernant les premiers siècles chrétiens*. Lyon, 1841. These coins are also published with a short dissertation in the *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, vol. viii. pp. 144—153. Paris, 1834,—a work rarely consulted in England.

<sup>6</sup> *Works* of Nathaniel Lardner, D.D.; with a Life by Dr Kippis. In ten volumes. London, 1838.

dians, and Philip. The history will not, therefore, be divided.

For a notice of the medallions of Trajan Decius I am solely indebted to the paper of M. Charles Lenormant, above referred to. No specimens of these coins are in the British Museum.

With these necessary prefatory remarks, I pass on to the events of the reign of Septimius Severus.

During the early part of the reign of Severus this Emperor seems to have been favourable to the Christians. Tertullian informs us that he received into his palace, for life, a certain Christian, by name Proculus, who had cured him of a dangerous illness by either a natural or a miraculous remedy;<sup>7</sup> and also that knowing that several illustrious persons of both sexes belonged to the Christian sect, he not only did not persecute them, but also personally extolled them, and openly resisted the populace when furious against them.<sup>8</sup> His son Caracalla appears to have had a Christian

<sup>7</sup> "Nam et Proculum Christianum, qui Torpacion cognominabatur, Euhodiae procuratorem, qui enim per oleum aliquando curaverat requisivit et in palatio suo habuit usque ad mortem ejus." *Ad Scapulam* iv. By some it has been supposed that the Proculus here mentioned was the same as Eutychius Proculus, a grammarian who was the instructor of M. Aurelius (Capit. *In M. Anton.* 2), and who is also probably alluded to by Trebellius Pollio (*In Emil. Tyr.*) Indeed, the name of Eutychius, from the Greek *εὐτυχής*, has been suggested to be the same as the Punic name Torpacion, both meaning "*in quem inclinant bona*" (Tertull. ed. Oehler, vol. i. p. 547, Leips. 1853). The Euhodia here spoken of was the wife of Euhodus, the tutor of Caracalla (Dion. Cass. lxxvi. 2), who was immediately on his accession put to death (Dion. Cass. lxxvi. 6; lxxvii. 1). There is no reason for supposing that either Euhodia or her husband were Christians. The name of Euhodia occurs in an inscription given by Gruter (dclxxxix. 5).

<sup>8</sup> "Sed et clarissimas feminas et clarissimos viros Severus, sciens hujus sectae esse, non modo non laesit, verum et testimonio exornavit et populo furenti in nos palam restitit." *Ad Scap.* iv.



nurse,<sup>9</sup> and was even allowed to have a Christian boy as a play-fellow.<sup>10</sup> This tranquillity did not, however, last, for in the tenth year of his reign [A.D. 202],<sup>11</sup> he forbade any one, under a heavy penalty, to embrace Chris-

<sup>9</sup> "Quem et [Proculum] Antoninus optime noverat *lacte Christiano educatus*." Tertull. *Ad Scap.* iv. One MS., the *codex Divionensis*, gives the reading "quem et [Proculum] Antoninus optime noverat *Christianis educatum*;" so that the education refers to Proculus, and not to Caracalla. But this *codex* is not of sufficient age to merit quotation (Tertullian, ed. Oehler, *præf.*, p. xix).

<sup>10</sup> "Septennis puer, quum collusorem suum puerum, ob *Judaicam* religionem gravius verberatum audisset, neque patrem suum neque patrem pueri vel auctores verberum diu respexit." Spartian, *In Carac.* i. There is also a mention in the Digests (L 2, 3, 3) of some favourable edicts of Severus concerning those who *Judaicam superstitionem sequuntur*. In both these passages most commentators have thought that there was allusion to the Christians, owing to the confusion among ancient authors of the Christians with the Jews. The Cav. G. B. de Rossi has, however, recently objected to this view, and says that the pagan magistrates knew well enough how to distinguish the Jews and Christians (*Rev. Archéolog.*, N.S., April 1866, p. 236), quoting as an example the case of the Christian Callistus, given in the *Philosophumena* (ix. 11), and adding that Spartian also knew the difference between them, as he expressly distinguishes them in a passage in the Life of Severus, quoted later (*in Sev.* 17), whilst Lampridius also marks the distinction under Alexander Severus (*in Alex. Sev.* 22). De Rossi's whole paper must, for a clear understanding of his idea, be carefully studied, whilst on the other side the work of the Abbé Greppo (*Trois Mémoires*, etc., p. 136, *seq.*) may be consulted. As de Rossi has entered fully into the question of who were "proselytes," it will be necessary for English readers to examine the almost conclusive evidence of Dr. Lardner (*Works*, vol. vi. pp. 225—229, vol. x. pp. 307—317, ed. Kippis), and the article "Proselytes" in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, and Kitto's *Bibl. Encycl.*, new ed.

<sup>11</sup> Δέκατον μὲν γὰρ ἐπέτρε Σεβήρος τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος . . . εἰς μέγα δὲ οὖν τῆς τοῦ διωγμοῦ πυρκαϊᾶς ἀφθέρσης καὶ μυρίων ὄσων τοῖς κατὰ τὸ μαρτυρίον ἀναδουμένων στεφάνοις. Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 2.

tianity, imposing also the same rigorous measures on those who might wish to become Jews.<sup>12</sup>

After the death of Severus, in A.D. 211, there was a period of peace for thirty-eight years,<sup>13</sup> only interrupted by the persecution of Maximinus. The peace then lasted during the reign of Macrinus,<sup>14</sup> and under Elagabalus, who succeeded him. This prince, who received his name of Elagabalus from the Syro-Phœnician sun-god, though he did not persecute the Church, in his fanaticism attempted to form one grand system of religion, introducing the religion of the Jews and Christians, and making the sun the one great object of worship.<sup>15</sup> His cousin Alexander Severus was associated with him in the worship of the god of Emesa, and in all probability was so enrolled previous to the interview of his mother Mamæa with Origen. In any case, Dion Cassius,<sup>16</sup> who speaks of the abominable worship of the sun-god by

<sup>12</sup> "Judæos fieri sub gravi pœna vetuit. Idem etiam de *Christianis* sanxit." Spartian *In Sev.* 17.

<sup>13</sup> Sulp. Sev. *Sacr. Hist.* ii. 46.

<sup>14</sup> The Abbé Greppo, however, notices (*Trois Mémoires*, etc., p. 270) the following martyrdom of St. Asclepias, Bishop of Antioch, recorded in the Roman Martyrology, October 18th:—"Antiochæ sancti Asclepiadis episcopi, qui unus fuit ex præclaro martyrum numero, qui sub Macrino gloriose passi sunt." He also observes that Usuard and Adon speak of this, but they say "*sub Decio!*"

<sup>15</sup> "Sed ubi primum ingressus est urbem, omissis iis quæ in provincia gerebantur, Heliogabalum in Palatino monte juxta ædes imperatorias consecravit, eique templum fecit, studens et Matris typum, et Vestæ ignem, et Palladium, et ancilia et omnia Romanis veneranda in illud transferre templum, et id agens, ne quis Romæ deus nisi Heliogabalus coleretur. Dicebat præterea, Judæorum et Samaritanorum religiones et *Christianam* devotionem illuc transferendam, ut omnium culturarum secretum Heliogabali sacerdotium teneret." Lamprid. *In Heliogabal.* 3.

<sup>16</sup> lxxix. 24.

Elagabalus, associates with him his grandmother Maesa, and his mother Soæmias, but says nothing about his aunt Mamæa. Now if history may be credited, Mamæa had embraced the Christian faith. The most explicit statement of the fact is that by Orosius,<sup>17</sup> “Cujus mater Mammæa, *Christiana*, Originem presbyterum audire curavit.” Eusebius<sup>18</sup> calls her a very pious woman (γυνή θεοσεβestrή), and adds that “Origen stayed with her some time exhibiting innumerable matters calculated to promote the glory of the Lord, and to evince the excellence of divine instruction.” St. Jerome also, though not asserting that Mamæa was a Christian, calls her a religious woman (*femina religiosa*), and says that she treated Origen with the highest honour.<sup>19</sup> Vincentius Lirinensis, who flourished about A.D. 434, also furnishes further authority on this question,<sup>20</sup> whilst several other writers<sup>21</sup> speak in some manner of the Christianity of Mamæa, but they belong to periods too remote from that of Severus for their authority to be of any great weight. The conferences of Mamæa with Origen have been assigned by Tillemont<sup>22</sup> to A.D. 218, four years before the accession of her son to the throne.

<sup>17</sup> *Hist.* vii. 18.

<sup>18</sup> *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 21.

<sup>19</sup> “Sed et illud quod ad Mammæam matrem Alexandri imperatoris, *religiosam feminam* rogatus venit Antiochiam, et summo honore habitus est.” *De vir. illustr.* 54.

<sup>20</sup> “Quam autem non solum privatæ conditioni, sed ipsi quoque fuerit reverendus imperio, declarant historiæ quæ eum à matre Alexandri Imperatoris accitum ferunt; cœlestis utique sapientiæ merito cujus illa gratia et amore flagrabat.” *Commonit.* ed. Baluz., 2, p. 343.

<sup>21</sup> Georgius Syncellus, *Chronograph.* ed. reg. p. 358.

<sup>22</sup> *Hist. des Empereurs*, vol. iii. p. 158.

Profane authors have, however, left no records of the religion professed by Mamæa. Yet at the same time they speak in high terms of her virtues. Lampridius calls her *mulier sancta*, and the Abbé Greppo says<sup>23</sup> that, “peut-être fait-il en cela une allusion, pour ne pas prononcer le nom de Chrétienne, odieux, comme on sait, aux écrivains païens.”

M. de Witte, on the contrary, says<sup>24</sup> that the epithet *θεοσεβειστῆρῃ*, given by Eusebius to Mamæa, and of *sancta* by Lampridius, offer no solid arguments as to her Christianity; for the former epithet, as well as *φιλόθεος*, *φιλοθεώτερος*, *ὁσιώτερος*, &c., though often used to designate the faithful, are also applied to pagans even by ecclesiastical writers,<sup>25</sup> whilst the latter, as well as *sanctissima*, were epithets often employed in inscriptions and by profane authors with the signification of *chastity* and *purity*.<sup>26</sup> But he adds, “cette épithète, indiquant toujours une vie pure et intègre, elle sert à corroborer les preuves fournies par les témoignages plus clairs et plus précis.”<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *Notes Historiques*, etc., p. 132.

<sup>24</sup> *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. iii. p. 166.

<sup>25</sup> Dionysius of Alexandria, quoted by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* vii. 23), calls Gallienus *ὁσιώτερος* and *φιλοθεώτερος*. M. de Witte observes that Josephus (*Antiq.* xx. 8, 1,) names the wicked Poppæa as *θεοσεβής*. Marcia, the concubine of Commodus, was also called *φιλόθεος*, and was certainly a Christian.

<sup>26</sup> *Mémoire sur l'Impératrice Salonine*, p. 15, in the xxvth volume of the *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux Arts de Belgique*, Bruxelles, 1851.

<sup>27</sup> Lampridius (*in Alex. Sev.*, 13 and 14) as well as Herodian (*Hist.* vi. 2 and 3) praise the pains she took to educate her son Alexander, and to preserve him from the vices of his cousin Elagabalus. Both these historians, however, as also others (Aurel. Vict. *Epit.* 24, etc.), blame her for her avarice, her unfair means of amassing money, and her stinginess to the troops, which was eventually the cause of her death, as well as of that of her son, who is said to have upbraided her with his dying breath. The statements may in some cases be exagger-

The coins, however, of Mamæa bear the marks of paganism; the legends are usually IVNO CONSERVATRIX, VENERI FELICI, VENVS GENETRIX or VICTRIX, VESTA, &c., and the types the divinities mentioned.<sup>28</sup> Undoubtedly such representations are totally opposed to the spirit of Christianity; but it must be remembered that the coins were issued under the authority of the Emperor or the Senate, and though Mamæa may have been a Christian, or even have induced her son to be tolerant to the sect, yet one could hardly expect to find her private sentiments placed upon public records. There is, however, one exception of an empress venturing to place, or have placed, an entirely Christian formula on her coins.<sup>29</sup> Though her son was after his death placed "among the gods," and it might therefore be imagined that the same was done for Mamæa; still, no consecration coin referring to either of them has as yet been discovered.

We may then venture to assume that Mamæa had embraced the religion of Jesus Christ. "Trop de témoignages militent pour l'affirmative; trop peu d'objections positives pourraient tendre à les infirmer."<sup>30</sup>

The influence of the piety of Mamæa on her son rated, and Herodian has been accused of treating Alexander unjustly (Capit. in *Maximin.* 13), but they do not in any way tend to destroy the proofs that Mamæa was converted to Christianity.

<sup>28</sup> Cohen *Médailles Impériales*, vol. iv. p. 77, seq.

<sup>29</sup> Salonina, wife of Gallienus, on some of whose coins the legend AVGVSTA IN PACE may be found. A special dissertation has been written on these coins by M. le Baron de Witte (*Mém. sur l'Impératrice Salonine*, in the xxvith vol. of the *Mém. de l'Acad. Roy. de Belgique*; *Rev. Num. Belge*, vol. ii. second series, p. 231; *Mél. d'Archéolog.*, vol. iii. p. 173).

<sup>30</sup> Greppo, *Notes Historiques*, etc., p. 130.

Alexander Severus, who was always respectful to her,<sup>31</sup> is clearly shown by many of the acts of his reign. That he was tolerant to the Christians cannot be denied,<sup>32</sup> and his historian, Lampridius, records a public act given in favour of the Christians, who were contesting about a site for their worship, in which he writes "that it was better, however, that God should be there worshipped, than that it should be given up to the eating-house keepers."<sup>33</sup> This imperial decision is extremely interesting, as being the earliest historical account of a church elevated by the Christians; for it cannot be supposed that during the many persecutions they had suffered, they could have had other churches<sup>34</sup> than the catacombs, or secret places of worship in particular houses. Moreover, he ordained that the election of the procurators and other provincial magis-

<sup>31</sup> "In matrem Mammæam unice pius fuit." Lamprid. *in Alex. Sev.* 26. "Unice pius fuit," St. Jerome, *Chron.* ed. Mai, vol. viii. p. 645.

<sup>32</sup> "Judæis privilegia reservavit. *Christianos esse passus est.*" Lamprid. *in Alex. Sev.* 22. It would appear, however, that there were several martyrs during the reign of Alexander, but the authority for such accounts is not considered of very great value. (Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. iii. p. 679, note 2.) There seems, though, more certainty about the martyrdom of Callistus (p. 681), who, if the "Acts" may be credited, was precipitated down a well (p. 251), which seems rather to indicate the fury of the populace, than an order of the Emperor.

<sup>33</sup> "Quum Christiani quendam locum, qui publicus fuerat occupassent, contra popinarii dicerent, sibi eum deberi, rescripsit, melius esse ut quomocumque illic Deus colatur, quam popinariis dedatur." Lamprid. *in Alex. Sev.* 49.

<sup>34</sup> Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* vii. 13) speaks of Christian churches under the reign of Gallienus, and Mr. Moyle (vol. i. p. 378-398) is of opinion that they were first constructed during this reign. The statement of Lampridius seems, however, sufficiently positive. (Cf. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* vol. iii. part ii. p. 68-72).

trates should be conducted in the same manner as did the Christian Church in their clerical ordinations, giving power to the people to oppose their nomination in certain cases and under certain conditions;<sup>35</sup> and besides, he showed his admiration for the moral of the Christians by loving to repeat the Christian motto, "Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you"—a sentence which he not only had inscribed upon his palace, but had it affixed to all his public buildings.<sup>36</sup>

The biographer of Alexander Severus has also attributed to him the intention of building a temple consecrated to Jesus Christ. He says, "He (Alexander Severus) wished to build a temple to Christ, and to receive him among the gods. Which Hadrian is also reported to have designed, who ordered temples to be erected in all cities, without statues, which therefore to this day, because they have no deities, are called *Adriani*, which he is said to have built for that purpose. But he was opposed by some, who having consulted the oracles, ascertained that if that were once done, all men would be Christians, and the other temples would be deserted."<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> "Ubi aliquos voluisset, vel rectores provinciis dare, vel præpositos facere vel procuratores, id est rationales, ordinare, nomina eorum proponebat, hortans populum, ut si quis quid haberet criminis, probaret manifestis rebus; si non probasset, subiret pœnam capitis; dicebatque, grave esse, quum id Christiani et Judæi facerent, in prædicandis sacerdotibus qui ordinandi sunt, non fieri in provinciarum rectoribus, quibus et fortunæ hominum committerentur et capita." Lamprid. *in Alex. Sev.*, 45.

<sup>36</sup> "Clamabatque sæpius quod à quibusdam, sive Judæis sive Christianis audierat et tenebat, idque per præconem quum aliquem emendaret, dici jubebat, *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris*. Quam sententiam usque adeo dilexit, ut et in Palatio, et in publicis operibus præscribi juberet." Lamprid. *in Alex. Sev.* 51.

<sup>37</sup> "Christo templum facere voluit, eumque inter deos reci-

This statement has been received by some modern critics as true,<sup>38</sup> whilst others totally reject it.<sup>39</sup> The principal objection seems to be the unaccountable absence of such an account in the writings of Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Cyprian, and other ancient writers, whilst it would seem likely that Lampridius had recounted of Hadrian a fact supposed to have been conceived by Tiberius.<sup>40</sup> Perhaps, however, there is here allusion to the temples erected by Hadrian to himself. We read in the life of this Emperor by Spartian that "when he returned from Africa to Rome, having set out immediately to the East, he went through Athens, and there he dedicated the buildings that had been begun by him, and especially the Temple of Jupiter Olympius, and an altar, *to himself*. And in like manner, travelling through Asia, he consecrated temples *in his own name*."<sup>41</sup>

pere. Quod et Adrianus cogitasse fertur, qui templa in omnibus civitatibuss ine simulacris jusserat fieri, quæ hodie idcirco quia non habent numina, dicuntur *Adriani*, quæ ille ad hoc parasse dicebatur. Sed prohibitus est ab iis qui consulentes sacra, repperant omnes Christianos futuros, si id optato evenisset, et templa reliqua deserenda." Lamprid. *in Alex. Sev.*, 43.

<sup>38</sup> Huet, Dem. Evang. Prop. 3, sect. xxii; Tillemont, *Persécution d'Adrien*, art. vi.

<sup>39</sup> Pagi, *Crit. in Baron.* ann. 134; Basnage, *ann.* 126; Casaubon, annot. in Lamprid., *Alex. Sev.*, cap. 43.

<sup>40</sup> Greppo, *Trois Mémoires*, etc., p. 220, seq.

<sup>41</sup> "Denique quum post Africam Romam redisset, statim ad Orientem profectus per Athenas iter fecit, atque opera quæ apud Athenienses cœperat, dedicavit: ut Jovis Olympii ædem et aram sibi; eodemque modo per Asiam iter faciens, templa *sui nominis* consecravit." Spartian *in Hadr.* 13. Statues of Hadrian were also placed in this temple (Dion. Cass. lxi. 16), as it was allowable for the Emperor to erect his effigy near the gods (Suet. *in Cæs.* 76; cf. Dion. Cass. lix. 28). Numerous coins of Hadrian attest the fact of his allowing himself to be called. ΟΑΥΜΠΙΙΟΣ (Mionnet *Description des Méd.*, vol. ii. p. 468, No. 315, p. 538, No. 172, etc.) Pausanias (*Attic.* 18, 9) records that, besides



It is somewhat remarkable that at the time of Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia (A.D. 367), there were several temples existing bearing the name of Hadrian. He mentions<sup>42</sup> a large temple in the town of Tiberias, called 'Αδριάνειον, which the inhabitants wished to change into public baths,<sup>43</sup> the management of which undertaking was conferred upon Josephus.<sup>44</sup> In another place<sup>45</sup> he speaks of a temple at Alexandria, also called 'Αδριανόν (*sic*), which afterwards became a gymnasium under the name of Δικινανόν; but at the time of Constantine it was wished to turn it into a church, and the work was commenced by Gregory the Meletian.<sup>46</sup> He also adds that the church was finished by Athanasius, and was restored by him also when it was burnt under the Emperor Julian. These statements, in any case, corroborate the account of the historian, Lampridius.

With respect to the absence of statues mentioned by Lampridius, the Abbé Greppo has already observed<sup>47</sup> that the pagans were not unaware that the Christians possessed no images, for Minucius Felix says to Cæcilius,<sup>48</sup> "Cur

erecting at Athens temples to Zeus and Here, Hadrian built one dedicated to *all the gods*.

<sup>42</sup> *Hæres.* xxx. 12.

<sup>43</sup> Aristeides, a celebrated Greek rhetorician, who was born under Hadrian, speaks of there being baths called *Adrianeium* ("ἐδόκουν ἐν τῷ 'Αδριανείῳ κεχρῆσθαι μὲν, λελοῦσθαι δ' οὐν." *Serm. Sacr.* I. ed. Dindorf, p. 422 [491]).

<sup>44</sup> This Josephus was converted from Judaism to Christianity, and was raised by Constantine the Great to the rank of *comes*. He was not, as some have conjectured, the Josephus who was the author of the *Hypomnesticon* (Smith's *Dict. of Biography*, s. v. Josephus, No. 12).

<sup>45</sup> *Hæres.* lxix. 2.

<sup>46</sup> In all probability the Gregory whom the Arian prelates raised to the patriarchal see of Alexandria in A.D. 341.

<sup>47</sup> *Trois Mémoires*, etc., p. 254.

<sup>48</sup> *Octav.* x.

nullas aras habent, templa nulla, *nulla nota simulacra* ? ” And the Abbé remarks, “ Serait-ce pour cette raison que les temples destinés par Hadrien à Jesus Christ étaient restés dépourvus de statues, ou bien aurait-on été arrêté par la difficulté de représenter convenablement le Dieu des Chrétiens ? ”

The last sentence of Lampridius about the “ desertion of the Pagans ” proves, says the Abbé Greppo,<sup>49</sup> two things,—“ La déconsidération du paganisme à l’époque d’Hadrien, où de Severe Alexandre, et le progrès que la religion Chrétienne faisait alors dans l’empire. ”

To return from this digression to Alexander Severus. Besides the statement of Lampridius respecting Jesus Christ to which we have alluded, Alexander enshrined in his palace, as his household gods, the representations of the various deities whose worship was prevalent in the Roman empire. With the images of Apollonius, Abraham, Orpheus, and Alexander the Great, was set up that of our Lord Jesus Christ,<sup>50</sup> whilst in a second *lararium*, or shrine, he preserved the images of Virgil, whom he called the Plato of poets, of Cicero, and of Achilles.<sup>51</sup> Certainly this worship was opposed to true Christianity,

<sup>49</sup> *Trois Mémoires*, etc., p. 256.

<sup>50</sup> “ Usus vivendi eidem hic fuit: Primum ut, si facultas esset, id est si non cum uxore cubuisset, matutinis horis in larario suo (in quo et divos principes, sed optimos electos et animas sanctiores, in queis et Apollonium, et quantum scriptor suorum temporum dicit, *Christum*, Abraham et Orpheum et hujusmodi deos habebat, ac majorum effigies) rem divinam faciebat.” Lamprid. *in Alex. Sev.* 29. “ Alexandrum vero Magnum inter divos et optimos, in larario majore consecravit.” *In Alex. Sev.* 31.

<sup>51</sup> “ Virgilium autem Platonem poetarum vocabat, ejusque imaginem cum Ciceronis simulacro, in secundo larario habuit, ubi et Achillis et magnorum virorum.” Lamprid. *in Alex. Sev.* 31.

since it was given to so many miscellaneous personages, and in direct opposition to the religion of the true God, who says, "I am the Lord: that is my name; and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise to graven images."<sup>52</sup> There was the famous magician, Apollonius of Tyana, whose life is written by Philostratus; Abraham, the father of the Hebrew nation, whose presence may perhaps be explained by the Syrian origin of Alexander;<sup>53</sup> Orpheus, who is represented playing the lyre to several animals, on some paintings of the cemetery of St. Callistus,<sup>54</sup> on some clay lamps,<sup>55</sup> and on a stone which was found in a Christian cemetery;<sup>56</sup> Alexander the Great, of whom Alexander Severus bore the same name, because he was born in the temple dedicated to the Macedonian conqueror,<sup>57</sup> and Virgil, Cicero, and Achilles.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Isaiah xlii. 8.

<sup>53</sup> This may perhaps help to explain, as the Abbé Greppo (*Trois Mém.*, etc., p. 282, note 1) has observed, the fact recorded by Lampridius (*in Alex. Sev.* 28), of the insults which were once addressed to him, the people calling him *Syrum archi-synagogum et archiereu*.

<sup>54</sup> Bosio, *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 239, 255.

<sup>55</sup> Perret, *Les Catacombes de Rome*, vol. iv. p. 17, note 1.

<sup>56</sup> Mamachi, *Origines et Antiquitates Christianæ*, vol. iii. p. 81, note 2.

<sup>57</sup> "Alexandri nomen accepit, quod in templo dicato apud Arcenam urbem Alexandro Magno, natus esset, quum casu illuc die festo Alexandri pater cum uxore patriæ solemnitis implendæ causa venisset. Cui rei argumentum est quod eadem die natalem habet hic Mammææ Alexander, qua ille Magnus excessit à vita." Lamprid. *in Alex. Sev.* 5.

<sup>58</sup> In all probability these images were Gnostic. Dean Milman (*Hist. of Christianity*, vol. iii. p. 390, note) says that there are only two of our Lord Jesus Christ extant having any claims to authenticity. Those from the Chifflet collection are now considered to represent Serapis. The first is in the collection of M. Fortia d'Urban; it is of stone, a kind of tessera with the head of Christ, young, beardless, and in profile, with the word ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ and the

On the other hand, we find his biographer showing him to be a zealous follower of pagan institutions. While at Rome, he used every seventh day to ascend the Capitol, and frequent the temples of the gods;<sup>59</sup> and he celebrated with great solemnities the *hilaria* of the mother of the gods, the games of Apollo, the feasts of Jupiter, and the *Saturnalia*.<sup>60</sup> He also deocrated with great magnificence the temples of Isis and Serapis,<sup>61</sup> whose worship at Rome

fish below (Rochette, *Types imitatifs de l'art du Christianisme*, p. 21). The other is published by the Rev. R. Walsh in an "Essay on Ancient Coins, Medals, and Gems, as illustrating the Progress of Christianity in the Early Ages," and is a medal with the head of Christ on one side, with Hebrew letters and a Hebrew legend on the reverse. I may remark that a great deal of descriptive nonsense is given about it, and references to several early works where it has been published. Mr. Walsh says (p. 10), "the very circumstance of the head of Christ wanting a nimbus of glory, is a presumption amounting to a certainty, that it was not fabricated *after the seventh century*, at which time that symbol of sanctity was adopted as a distinctive mark of sacred persons, and it was considered impious to depict them without it." There is no doubt that these medals, of which several exist, were made after the description of Christ in the apocryphal letter of Lentulus to the Roman Senate (Fabric. *Cod. Apoc. Nov. Test.* p. 301, 302), about the *middle of the sixteenth century*, by Italian artists, by the order of some admirer of our Saviour, and perhaps even by order of John Pico, Prince of Mirandola, A.D. 1490—1533, of whom the British Museum has a beautiful gold coin with his portrait (Cf. Köhler, *Münz-Belustigung*, vol. vi. p. 357, Nuremburg, 1734). Their age is also sufficiently shown by their being cast, not struck, and the modern Hebrew characters are suitable to the sixteenth century (Cf. F. W. Madden, *Hist. of Jewish Coinage*, p. 337). Many similar medals were also made at this period (*Museum Mazzuchellianum*, pl. i. Ven. 1761, 2 vols. fol.)

<sup>59</sup> "Capitolium septimo die, quum in urbe esset, ascendit, templa frequentavit." Lamprid. *in Alex. Sev.* 43.

<sup>60</sup> "Calendis autem Januariis et hilariis matris deum, et ludis Apollinaribus, et Jovis epulo, et Saturnalibus." Lamprid. *in Alex. Sev.* 37.

<sup>61</sup> "Isium et Serapium decenter ornavit, additis signis et

had, both under the Republic and under the early Imperial rule, been strictly forbidden, but which was not finally abolished until the general introduction of Christianity.<sup>62</sup> He was also well versed in the superstitious science of divination.<sup>63</sup>

From these statements it may be concluded that Alexander Severus, whom his biographer praises as an excellent prince,<sup>64</sup> tolerated the Christian religion, but being Emperor, did not venture to become a Christian,<sup>65</sup> and to

deliacis et omnibus mysticis," Lamprid. *in Alex. Sev.* 26. In all probability Alexander Severus restored those that had been built by Caracalla (Spartian, *in Carac.* 9).

<sup>62</sup> The worship of Isis at Rome is thought to have been introduced by Sulla (Sibylla? Appuleius, *Met.* xi. p. 262; Ed. Oudendorp. Lugd. Bat., 1786). In B.C. 53 the private worship of Isis and Serapis was forbidden by the Senate, though public temples were allowed to be erected outside the pomerium (Dion. Cass. xl. 47). In B.C. 50 the Consul Æmilius Paulus began the destruction of the temples, as no one else attempted to do so (Val. Max. i. 3; Cf. Pauly, *Real-Encycl.* s. v. *Isis*). In B.C. 47 Julius Cæsar issued a further decree for their destruction (Dion. Cass. xlii. 26), though after his death new temples were re-erected (Dion. Cass. xlvii. 15). Augustus forbade the worship inside the city (Dion. Cass. liii. 2; liv. 6); and Tiberius, in consequence of the shocking improprieties existing among the priests, totally demolished the temple (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 3, 4; Suet. *in Tib.* 36). Otho, however, patronised this worship (Suet. *Otho*, 12), and under Domitian it seems to have been completely established at Rome (Tertull. *Apologet.* 6; Suet. *in Dom.* 1). Gibbon (*Decl. and Fall*, ch. ii) supposes that its establishment at Rome was due to the devotion of the Flavian family.

<sup>63</sup> "Aruspiciæ quoque peritissimus fuit. Ὀρνεοσκόπος magnus ut et Vascones et Hispanorum et Pannoniorum augures vicerit," Lamprid. *in Alex. Sev.* 27.

<sup>64</sup> "Atque hæc parva sunt nisi quod dignum se exhibuit quem senatus servaret, quem salvum milites cuperent, quem omnium bonorum sententia principem diceret," Lamprid. *in Alex. Sev.* 2.

<sup>65</sup> "Sed et Cæsares credidissent super Christo, si aut Cæsares non essent necessarii, sæculo aut si et Christiani potuissent esse Cæsares"—Tertull. *Apolog.* xxi.

give up entirely the superstitions of paganism. "The homage of Alexander Severus may be a fair test of the general sentiment of the more intelligent heathen of his time."<sup>66</sup> By some moderns he has been supposed to have been converted to Gnostic Christianity.<sup>67</sup>

In A.D. 235 Maximinus I., the Thracian, succeeded Alexander Severus. His execrable cruelty is spoken of by his biographer, who says that his maxim was that "without cruelty the empire could not be governed."<sup>68</sup> In consequence his subjects bestowed upon him various abusive epithets.<sup>69</sup> His first act was to put to death all the servants and family of Alexander, among whom there were many Christians. This is recorded by Capitolinus,<sup>70</sup> by Eusebius,<sup>71</sup> and by Orosius, who adds that his persecution was intended against the clergy, and particularly against the Presbyter Origen.<sup>72</sup> It is also recorded by Sulpicius

<sup>66</sup> Dean Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 178.

<sup>67</sup> Jablonski, *De Alex. Sev. Christianis sacris per Gnosticos initiato*, in vol. iv. of his *Opuscula*, p. 38; Heyne, *Alex. Sev. relig.* in his *Opuscula*, vol. vi. p. 169—210. A paper has also been written upon the religion of this prince by the late Abbé Greppo, entitled *Dissertation sur les laraires de l'Empereur Sévère Alexandre*, 8vo., Belley, 1834, but I have been unable to obtain a sight of it.

<sup>68</sup> "Nisi crudelitate imperium non teneri." Capitol. *in Max.* 8.

<sup>69</sup> "Sed inter has virtutes tam crudelis fuit ut illum alii Cyclopem, alii Busiridem, alii Scironem nonnulli Phalarim, multi Typhonem vel Gygem vocarent." Capitol. *in Max.* 8.

<sup>70</sup> "Præterea omnes Alexandri ministros variis modis interemit." Capitol. *in Max.* 9.

<sup>71</sup> "Ὅς δὴ κατὰ κόσμον τὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου οἶκον ἐκ πλειόνων πιστῶν συνεστῶτα, διωγμὸν ἐγείρας, τοὺς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἄρχοντας μόνους, ὡς αἰτίους τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διδασκαλίας ἀναιρεῖσθαι προστάττει." *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 28. Eusebius adds that at this time Origen composed his book of Martyrdom, which he dedicated to Ambrose and Protoctetus, both of whom appear to have been at this time imprisoned.

<sup>72</sup> "Qui maxime propter Christianam Alexandri, cui suc-

Severus that Maximinus persecuted the clergy of some of the churches.<sup>73</sup> His reign was not of long duration, for he was killed at Aquileia in A.D. 238.

During the reigns of Gordianus Africanus I. and II., of Balbinus, and Pupienus, and of Gordianus III. Pius, there were no persecutions of the Christians, nor do we find a record of any of these Emperors having encouraged Christianity. In A.D. 244 Philip ascended the throne. Many modern writers have attempted to prove that he and his family were Christians, whilst others have denied it. The arguments *pro*. and *con*. are collected in a dissertation by an Italian writer, Moniglia.<sup>74</sup> Ancient ecclesiastical authors, however, positively state that Philip was a Christian,<sup>75</sup> whilst St. Jerome even attests the fact more formally.<sup>76</sup> One of the most remarkable accounts is that given by Eusebius, who says that, "this Emperor as a Christian, on the day of the last vigil of the Passover, wished to share with the multitude in the prayers of the Church, but was not permitted by the bishop to enter before he had confessed his sins, and placed himself among

cesserat, et Mammææ matris familiam, persecutionem, in sacerdotes et clericos et doctores vel præcipue propter Originem presbyterum miserat." *Hist.* vii. 19. Origen appears to have stayed with Firmilianus, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, during this persecution (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 26—27; cf. St. Jerome, *de vir. illustr.* 54), though on the authority of Firmilian himself it would appear that the Christians were persecuted in Pontus and Cappadocia (Firm. ad Cyprian. *Epist.* 75).

<sup>73</sup> "Nisi quod medio tempore Maximinus nonnullarum ecclesiarum clericos vexavit." *Sacr. Hist.* ii. 32.

<sup>74</sup> "De annis Jesu Christi servatoris et de religione utriusque Philippi Aug. Dissertationes duce." Rom. 4to., 1741.

<sup>75</sup> "Hic primus Imperatorum omnium Christianus fuit." Oros. *Hist.* vii. 20.

<sup>76</sup> "Qui primus de Regibus Romanis Christianus fuit." *De vir. ill.* 52; *Chron.* ed. Mai, vol. viii. p. 646.

the penitents. . . . And it is said that the Emperor obeyed cheerfully and exhibited a genuine and religious disposition in his fear of God.”<sup>77</sup> The name of the bishop is said by St. Chrysostom<sup>78</sup> to have been Babylas, Bishop of Antioch. This account has been given by many other writers, and the Abbé Greppo<sup>79</sup> thinks that it is “un témoignage irrécusable du Christianisme de ce prince.”

On the other hand the cruelties of Philip, and his disgraceful conduct towards Gordian III., whom he afterwards placed among the gods,<sup>80</sup> have left his name among ancient profane writers condemned for perfidy and ingratitude. Whilst the magnificent manner in which he celebrated the *ludi sæculares*, recorded by many authors, and commemorated on his coins with the legends SAECVLARES AVG.,<sup>81</sup> SAECVLVM NOVVM,<sup>82</sup> MILIARIUM SAECVLVM,<sup>83</sup> games quite opposed to the Christian faith, though Orosius<sup>84</sup> does not hesitate to suppose that they were in honour of Christ and the

<sup>77</sup> *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 34.

<sup>78</sup> *De S. Babyla contra Julian. et Gentil.*, vol. ii. p. 544. It will be remembered that St. Ambrose in a similar manner forbade Theodosius I. to enter the rails where the clergy officiated, and made him do public penance (Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, vol. iii. pp. 165—167).

<sup>79</sup> *Notes historiques*, etc., p. 149.

<sup>80</sup> “Denique Philippus quum eum interfecisset, neque imagines ejus tolleret, neque statuas deponeret, neque nomen abraderet, sed *divum* semper appellans etiam apud ipsos milites, cum quibus factionem fecerat, serio animo et peregrina calliditate veneratus est.” *Capit. in Gord. Tert.* 31. No consecration coins of Gordianus III are in exis ence.

<sup>81</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 75—88, 189—195.

<sup>82</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 89—91, 196—198.

<sup>83</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 162—164.

<sup>84</sup> “Nec dubium est quin Philippus hujus tantæ devotionis gratiam et honorem ad Christum et ecclesiam reportavit.” *Hist.* vii. 20.



Church, and the many idolatrous acts that were enacted at them,<sup>85</sup> seem quite opposed to the idea that Philip ever entertained Christian feelings.

Another fact that may be brought forward against the Christianity of Philip is that there are certain coins existing issued by him with the legends ΘΕΩ ΜΑΡΙΝΩ and ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΚΟΛΩΝΙΑΣ, and the Latin letters S. C. Many doubts have in earlier times been expressed as to who this Marinus might be, till at last M. Tôchon d'Annecy suggested that he was the father of Philip,<sup>86</sup> a suggestion now proved by the discovery by Mr. Waddington of some inscriptions reading MAPI . . . ΘΕΩΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ, at Chehebé, a village situated near Ledja.<sup>87</sup> Philip thus deified his father, an act totally opposed to Christianity.<sup>88</sup>

Another most important objection is that many ancient

<sup>85</sup> Cf. a fine brass medallion of Philips I. and II. and Otacilia with the legend SAECVLVM NOVVM (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 12), where the two Emperors are sacrificing to Jupiter, accompanied by another person and a flute-player. The type is somewhat analagous to that on coins of Domitian (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 308—314). Philip's other coins represent the usual pagan deities.

<sup>86</sup> *Mém. sur les Méd. de Marinus frappées à Philippopolis.* Paris, 4to. 1817.

<sup>87</sup> *Rev. Num.* 1865, p. 63. See also the account of Philippopolis, here proved to be in Trachonitis, and not to be identified with Bostra, and some remarks on the coins of Pacatianus, who has been erroneously identified with Marinus, but whom Mr. Waddington has proved to have been the general in revolt in Mœsia, called only *Marinus* by ancient authors, but on coins *Tiberius Claudius Marinus Pacatianus*.

<sup>88</sup> Both the Philips were made *divi* (Eutrop. ix. 3), but this alone would not militate against their Christian tendencies, for we have coins of Constantine I., who was certainly a Christian, with the legend DV. CONSTANTINVS PT. AVGG., on which the Emperor is represented carried to heaven in a *quadriga* (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 568). Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* iv. 73) describes these pieces.

Christian writers<sup>89</sup> distinctly state that Constantine I. was the first Emperor who embraced Christianity, and even Eusebius says "that he was the only Roman Emperor who hitherto had worshipped the true God with sincere piety, and had embraced and recommended the doctrine of Christ;"<sup>90</sup> whilst no heathen writers make mention of the Christianity of Philip and his son.

With respect to Otacilia, the wife of Philip I., both St. Jerome<sup>91</sup> and Eusebius<sup>92</sup> attest that she held a correspondence with Origen. Her coins, however, have pagan types and legends,<sup>93</sup> whilst the Abbé Greppo<sup>94</sup> calls attention to an inscription dedicated by Otacilia to Cybele—*MATRI DEVM MARCIA OTACILIA AVG.* But if her husband was a Christian, there is no reason for supposing that Otacilia did not embrace the same faith.

In conclusion, Lardner<sup>95</sup> is of opinion that "the Emperor Philip was neither by belief or profession a Christian, though he might be favourable to some who were so;" Dean Milman<sup>96</sup> says that "the extraordinary splendour with which he celebrated the great religious rites of Rome at once refutes the statement that he was a convert to the

<sup>89</sup> Lactantius, *Inst.* 50, chap. 1; Sulp. Sev. *Sacr. Hist.* ii. 33; Chrysostom, *Contr. Jud. et Gent.* i.

<sup>90</sup> *De Vit. Const.* iv. 75.

<sup>91</sup> *De vir. illustr.* 54. He, by error, says the "mother" of the Emperor.

<sup>92</sup> *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 36.

<sup>93</sup> Yet a curious silver medallion of Philip I., Otacilia, and Philip II., has the legend *DE PIA MATRE PIVS FILIVS* (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 1).

<sup>94</sup> *Notes historiques*, etc., p. 160; Gruter, *Inscript. Antiq.* xxix. 2.

<sup>95</sup> *Works*, vol. vii. p. 254. Ed. Kippis.

<sup>96</sup> *Hist. of Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 186.

Gospel;" whilst the Abbé Greppo<sup>97</sup> concludes his researches with the following words:—"Les crimes odieux de Philippe, qui révoltent toute âme honnête, ne prouvent qu'une chose, qu'il fut un scélérat, indigne de la qualité de Chrétien dont il portait le nom. Les monuments et les particularités historiques, relatives aux jeux séculaires, à l'apothéose de son père, à des actes de paganisme, en prouvent une autre: c'est qu'il n'eut pas le courage de se montrer Chrétien sur le trône qu'il avait obtenu d'une manière si criminelle. L'histoire n'offre que trop d'exemples semblables, et le nombre des Chrétiens aurait été fort réduit dans tous les temps, si les vertus et la piété donnaient seules un droit rigoureux à ce titre. Mais conclure de ces données que Philippe n'était pas Chrétien, au moins par sa croyance, c'est, à mon avis, pousser trop loin la sévérité de la critique, et traiter avec trop peu de considération les autorités respectables qui l'affirment en termes aussi clairs et aussi formels."

Having now given a brief account of the Christian tendencies of the Emperors from Severus to Philip I., I pass on to the numismatic portion of the paper, in which I commence with a history of the *provenance* of these extremely interesting pieces.

The coin of Severus was first published by Falconeri<sup>98</sup> from an impression sent to Rome by Seguin, but it is erroneously engraved with the letters NHTON on the ark, which letters Falconeri joined on to the name APTC.MAT, making the legend EΠI ATONOΘETOY APTC.MATNHTON

<sup>97</sup> *Notes Historiques*, etc. p. 163.

<sup>98</sup> *Dissertatio de numo Apamensi Deucalionis diluvii typum exhibente*, first published at Rome in 1668, and afterwards added to the second edition of the *Selecta Numismata Antiqua* of Seguinus, Paris, 1684, and a third time reprinted in the tenth volume (p. 678) of the *Antiquitates Græcæ* of Gronovius.

ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ, an opinion adopted by Bryant,<sup>99</sup> with the exception that he connected the ΑΡΤΕ and ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ, making the *Artemagnetes* some sacred personages who were revered by the people of Apameia. The coin was at this time in the cabinet of the King of France, and was published by Vaillant<sup>100</sup> as having the legend ΕΠΙ ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΑ. Γ. ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΝΕΩ. The Abbé Barthélemy, however, on being asked by Mr. Combe to examine the piece, positively stated that there was nothing to be seen on it "but the letter N, followed by two or three others, of which there remain only the slightest traces, or, to speak more accurately, there is nothing but the contour of the second letter to be distinguished, which, according to different lights, appears sometimes an Ω, sometimes an Ε."<sup>101</sup> A similar coin is engraved in the Abbé Venuti's work "On the Coins of the Cardinal Albani,"<sup>102</sup> on which there seems to be only the letters ΝΩ. It will, however, be presently seen, from our engraving, that the letters on the ark are really ΝΩ[Ε].

The coin of Macrinus was formerly in the Museum of the Academy of the Society of Jesus at Vienna, and was from thence transferred to the Royal Museum. It was first published by Froelich,<sup>103</sup> who, imagining that the letters on the ark were ΝΩΝ, and from the fact of the word ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ being in the *exergue*, thought that there

<sup>99</sup> *A Vindication of the Apamean Medal and of the Inscription ΝΩΕ*, p. 15. London, 1775.

<sup>100</sup> *Num. Imp. Græca*, p. 80.

<sup>101</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. iv. p. 349.

<sup>102</sup> *Antiqua Numismata ex Museo Card. Alex. Albani*, vol. i. p. 99, pl. xlix. fol. Rom. 1739:

<sup>103</sup> *De familia Vaballathi*; *accedunt ejusdem adpendiculæ duæ ad numismata antiqua à Cl. Vaillantio olim edita*; curante Josepho Khell, p. 95. Vindob. 1762.

was probably a legend round the contour of the coin, giving the name of some other people. He then suggested  $\text{HEPTAMH}$ , and adding the  $\text{NQN}$  from the ark, made  $\text{HEPTAMHNQN}$ , showing a league between the Pergame-nians and the Apameans. But Eckhel,<sup>104</sup> who had the piece before him when describing it, gives the letters on the ark as  $\text{NQ}$ , and declares that there was never any legend round the margin. This view will be seen to be correct from the engraving, and from the true description of the piece which I have given later in this paper.<sup>105</sup>

The coin of Philip I., with the same type, was first communicated to the world by Falconeri, and was the cause of his learned treatise above alluded to. He professed to have seen three specimens, one in the Grand Duke's Gallery at Florence, a second in the cabinet of the Cardinal Ottoboni, and the third in the collection of Prince Chisi. On the first, from which he took his engraving, he asserted that the letters  $\text{NQE}$  were on the ark; on the second, only the letter  $\text{N}$  was to be seen; whilst on the third the letters were entirely defaced. But the coin on which Falconeri wrote his dissertation was found to be false. Gori, the keeper of the Duke's collection, has stated so;<sup>106</sup> but, to save the credit of Falconeri, he supposed that a false coin had been substituted for the true one. The Ottoboni coin was afterwards published by Vaillant,<sup>107</sup> who gives the legend as follows— $\text{EIII M. AYP. AAE\Xi ANAPOY BEA. APXI AIIAMEON NEOK}$ ; which

<sup>104</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 133.

<sup>105</sup> I am indebted to the kindness of M. Bergmann, Director of the Imp. Cab. of Antiquities and Coins at Vienna, for the cast of this rare coin.

<sup>106</sup> *Museum Florentinum*, vol. iii. p. 149.

<sup>107</sup> *Num. Imp. Græca*, p. 161.

last word he renders *Neocororum*. But this description is erroneous.<sup>108</sup>

Other specimens were known to exist in England, notably the Pembroke, which at the sale was proved to be cast,<sup>109</sup> and others belonging to private numismatists.<sup>110</sup> The Abbé Barthélémy condemned the specimen in the King's cabinet. He says:<sup>111</sup> "I have never been satisfied with this medal. The first glance of it is very unfavourable, and our suspicions increase in proportion as we examine it with more attention." But it is allowed by Mionnet;<sup>112</sup> and an example of undoubted authenticity, and in beautiful preservation, has recently passed from a collection at Metz into the hands of Mr. Waddington, on which may be seen the letters NΩE with a sharpness and clearness leaving nothing to be desired.<sup>113</sup> Specimens in other collections are known to exist.

<sup>108</sup> The coin of Philip was also published by Sestini (*Descript. Num. Vet.* pp. 455—456; pl. x. fig. 6), but with the letters NΩ K on the ark. The K, he suggested, might represent KIBΩTOC. This is, of course, erroneous. Munter (*Sinnbilder* pt. ii., No. iii. p. 52) also considered that the letters meant N[E]ΩKopων, whilst M. Raoul Rochette (*Mém. de l'Acad.* vol. xiii. p. 115, *note*) came to the conclusion that the legend on the ark was NΩ, with a trace of one or two other letters which ought to have been EK (NΩEK for NEΩK). He adds that in any case the legends of the coin of Severus are not faithfully given either in the description or plates of Mionnet (*Descrip. des Méd.* vol. iv. p. 234, No. 25; *Suppl.* vol. vii. pl. xii. No. 1), but in this, as may be seen from our engravings, he was clearly mistaken.

<sup>109</sup> *Cat.* part 3, pl. 78; *Sale Cat.* No. 1136.

<sup>110</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. iv. p. 334.

<sup>111</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. iv. p. 351.

<sup>112</sup> Vol. iv. p. 237, No. 261.

<sup>113</sup> *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. iii. p. 196.

It will be as well now, previous to laying before you the explanations of the type by various numismatists, to describe the existing specimens.

### SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

*Obv.*—ΑΥΤ. Κ. Α. ΣΕΠΤ. ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΥ ΚΕΡ. Bust to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

*Rev.*—ΕΠΙ ΑΡΚΟΝΘΕΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΑ. Γ. In *exergue* ΑΙΑΜΕΩΝ. Two figures, a male and a female, within an ark, on which is inscribed ΝΩ[Ε], and which is floating on some water. Outside the ark two figures, a male and a female, standing as if in adoration. On the top of the ark a bird perched; in the field above a bird flying towards it, holding an olive branch in its claws. (*Cabinet des Médailles*, Paris). [Pl. VI. No. 1.] Æ.

### MACRINUS.

*Obv.*—ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΟΠΕΑ. ΣΕΟΥ. ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟΥ ΚΕΒΑ. Bust to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum*.

*Rev.*—ΑΙΑΜΕΩΝ (in the *exergue*). Same type. On the ark ΝΩ[Ε] (*Cab. des Médailles*, Vienna). [Pl. VI. No. 2.] Æ.

### PHILIPPUS I.

*Obv.*—ΑΥΤ. Κ. ΙΟΥΛ. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΑΥΓ. Bust, to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

*Rev.*—ΕΠΙ Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΔΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ Β. ΑΡΧΙ ΑΙΑΜΕΩΝ (the dotted letters in the *exergue*). Same type. On the ark ΝΩΕ. (*Cab. des Médailles*, and *Cabs. de MM. Waddington, et Fouldmont*, Paris; *Uffizi Cab.* Florence). [Pl. VI. No. 3.] Æ.

The first writer who attempted to explain this type was Falconeri, to whose treatise we have before alluded. The principal points of his remarks are as follows:—The allusion on these coins is to the flood of Deucalion; Deucalion and Pyrrha are represented by the figures shut up in the ark; they are again represented outside

it with their hands raised as if they had just thrown stones behind them. Moreover, the birds are also represented which, according to the authority of Plutarch,<sup>114</sup> were sent out by Deucalion to see the state of the deluge. He also attests from many examples that the Greeks transferred to their sacred mythology many things from the antiquities of the Jews, and especially—which is by no means to be wondered at—that they found all the reasons of the Deluge of Noah in that of Deucalion. Whereupon he argues, that the flood alluded to on these coins refers to that of Deucalion and Pyrrha, or, at all events, in consequence of the ancient true story being intermixed with fiction, that the deluge of Noah was expressed by the Apameans with a semblance to that of Deucalion. At the end of his letter he examines the question as to what Apameia these coins shall be attributed, and concludes by assigning them to the city in Syria. Here, however, he is certainly in error.

Hardouin<sup>115</sup> next attempted an explanation, which is in his usual style. He says that the ark floating on the waters represents the situation of Apameia (called *Κιβωτός*, or “ark”) between the rivers Marsyas and Mæander; that the man and woman within the ark represent the citizens of Apameia, whilst those outside are Augustus and Augusta; that the dove with the branch of olive indicates peace and tranquillity procured for Asia in general, and for Apameia in particular, by the victory of Severus over the Parthians; and that the raven sitting on the ark, being by nature black, alludes to another name of Apameia (*Κελαιναί*),

<sup>114</sup> *De Solert. Animal.* xiii., ed Didot, p. 1185.

<sup>115</sup> *Nummi Antiqui populorum et urbium Illustrati* in his *Opera Selecta*, p. 25. Amstel. 1709.



which means "blackness." From this it appears that Hardouin did not recognise a representation of any deluge.

Froelich, who, as we have seen, published first the coin of Macrinus, does not differ much from Falconeri. He says that the type alludes to the deluge of Noah mixed up with the fable of Deucalion; that the ark, in consequence of the raven and dove with olive-branch, designates the ark of Noah; that within the ark is Noah with his wife, who by the Greeks were called Deucalion and Pyrrha; that outside the ark they are represented casting stones behind them, and clothed in imperial dress, as if to ingeniously allude to the redemption of the whole human race by them. He also hints at the name of *Cibotos*, and the site of the town between the rivers.

Thus the question rested, till in the year 1774 Mr. Bryant published his *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, in which, taking Falconeri as his authority, he advocated for these coins the representation of the deluge of Noah.<sup>116</sup> Some objections having been raised in various quarters to his arguments, and especially by an anonymous writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, whose ignorant remarks were really not worthy a reply, Mr. Bryant in 1775 published a pamphlet entitled *A Vindication of the Apamean Medal and of the Inscription NOE*. This new attempt to establish the authenticity of coins that were by most men considered false or misread, called into the field three opponents, whose remarks are published consecutively in the *Archæologia*<sup>117</sup> for 1786.

The first paper read to the Society of Antiquaries in the March of this year was by the Hon. Daines Barrington, and is entitled *Observations on the Apamean Medal*.

<sup>116</sup> Vol. ii. ed. 1774, p. 230; vol. iii. ed. 1807, p. 45.

<sup>117</sup> Vol. iv. p. 315, *seq.*

This gentleman has attempted to show that none of the particulars upon these coins are at all applicable to the Mosaical account of the Deluge, and has suggested, as many before him had done, that they applied to the flood of Deucalion. He says "Ovid informs us that Deucalion and Pyrrha escaped in a small vessel (*parvâ rate*);<sup>118</sup> that they were the only surviving persons; and that immediately upon leaving their boat they proceeded to consult the goddess Themis, by whom they are advised to cast stones behind them in order to repeople the earth.<sup>119</sup> With regard to the birds also, Plutarch informs us that Deucalion judged of the state of the weather by their returning or not, which seems to be represented by the one resting on the ark and the other being on the wing. As for the branch in the bird's claws, it is not agreeable to the Mosaical account, but might very possibly be part of the tradition delivered down to Plutarch, though he omits stating it." Mr. Barrington then proceeds to account for the incscription ΝΩΕ, assuming it to be the dual of ἔγω, and that it is the beginning of the line in Ovid,<sup>120</sup>

"*Nos duo turba sumus,*"

<sup>118</sup> "Hic ubi Deucalion (nam cætera texerat æquor)

Cum consorte tori *parvâ rate* vectus adhæsit."—*Met.* lib. i.

<sup>119</sup> The two right hands, says Mr. Barrington, are therefore employed in the very act of casting the stones behind them. But the Greeks were ordered to lift their hands towards heaven when making their vows to the gods. (Θεοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις καὶ Ὀλυμπίαις πάντεσσι καὶ πάσαις δεξιὰς καὶ ἀριστερὰς ἀνίσχοντας μνασιδωρεῖν κατὰ πάτρια, Demosth. *adv. Macart.* 1072, ed. Didot, p. 561; Cf. *adv. Midiam*, 531, ed. Didot, p. 277.)

<sup>120</sup> "*Nos duo turba sumus, possedit cætera pontus.*"

And again,

"Nunc genus in nobis restat mortale *duobus* ;

Sic visum superis : hominumque exempla manemus."

Ov. *Met.* lib. i.

being with the greatest propriety applicable to Deucalion and Pyrrha as the only survivors of the calamity. It is almost needless to observe that this proposition never met with any recognition.<sup>121</sup> The rest of Mr. Barrington's paper is taken up with an examination of the three chapters of Genesis relating to the circumstances of the Deluge, in which he can see no reasons for supposing it to have been general. On the whole, therefore, he conceives "that there had been a great flood at Apameia [as it was surrounded by three rivers] whilst Alexander was high priest, which event is commemorated by a medallion representing Deucalion's deluge, it being the most considerable calamity of this kind which was known to the Christian world."

The next opponent to Mr. Bryant was the Rev. Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter, and President of the Society of Antiquaries. From an examination of the conflicting statements of the times, Dr. Milles rejected entirely the reading NOE as an alteration by forgers of the word NEOK, the coin with this supposed inscription as given by Vaillant being the only true existing piece. We have already, earlier in this paper, spoken of this reading. From this Dr. Milles, denying any allusion whatever to Noah, inclined rather towards the deluge of Deucalion, but concludes by thinking that the type refers to some particular religious or historical fact relative to Apameia, of which the circumstances have not been transmitted to posterity.

The third paper on this subject, read to the Society of

<sup>121</sup> Eckhel (*Doct. Num. Vét.* vol. iii. p. 137), in alluding to this audacious conjecture (*audacem conjecturam*) says that no one, unless perchance he was *some son of Hardouin*, would ever agree to it.

Antiquaries in January, 1777, consists of a letter from the Abbé Barthélémy, in a reply to a note from Mr. Charles Combe, F.R.S., F.S.A., asking what really were the letters represented on the ark? To this the Abbé replied, that after considering all the monuments, it seemed probable to him that the word in question began with ΝΩ, and that perhaps it contained only these two letters. "What they mean, or whether they have been added by the *tool of a falsifier* I don't know; and it is but one of the innumerable particulars relating to medals on which I must acknowledge my ignorance. This, however, I will venture to affirm, that nothing at present appears to authorise us to read ΝΩΕ, ΝΕΩ, ΝΕΩΚ." Respecting the erroneous reading ΝΗΤΩΝ we have already said a few words.

After considering these arguments, Eckhel is of opinion that the type certainly alludes to the deluge of Noah, and that the figures outside represent Noah and his wife holding up their hands in thanksgiving for their safety; and he is more especially induced to believe this from the fact of the letters ΝΩ being on the coin. With this he compares the coins of Magnesia in Ionia,<sup>122</sup> on which may be read the legend ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ ΑΡΓΩ, the type being the vessel Argo with rowers, so that there may be no doubt that it is the vessel Argo which is intended to be represented, and hence he argues that the legend ΝΩΕ is placed on the coins of the Apameans, so that there might be no confusion with the flood of Deucalion.

But the type of the coins of Apameia may deserve a few additional words of explanation; and the best that

<sup>122</sup> Hardouin thought that these coins were struck at Magnesia in Thessaly, but Vaillant and Eckhel (*Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. ii.

we have observed in the course of our examination of these coins is that given by the late Charles Lenormant.<sup>123</sup> First of all, it is not difficult to distinguish on these coins the form of the raven from that of the dove, and it is remarkable that the Bible only gives an account of the presence of these two birds. In the short description given by Plutarch<sup>124</sup> of the flood of Deucalion, there is certainly allusion to the dove, but there is no mention of the olive branch or of another bird. In the Chaldæan account, as preserved in the fragments of Berosus and Abydenus,<sup>125</sup> Xisuthrus sent out twice some *birds*<sup>126</sup> to discover if the waters had receded, and the second time they returned after an interval of some days with *mud on their feet*.<sup>127</sup> This account, also, is quite contrary to that in Genesis, as also to the subject as represented on the coins of Apameia. But the most important feature, as has been observed by M. Lenormant, in the representation of the type, is the exactness with which, as regards the raven, it agrees with the Hebrew text, which is quite at variance with the Septuagint and Vulgate. In these latter (Gen. viii. 7) the raven is represented as “*not returning* until the water

pp. 141, 528), in consequence of there being no Greek Imperial coins of this place, prefer assigning them to Magnesia in Ionia. There is no objection to this attribution, for though the ship Argo was built at the Thessalian Magnesia, the Magnes of Thessaly founded Magnesia in Ionia, distinguished by the epithet πρὸς or ἐπὶ Μαίανδρῳ (Smith's *Dict. of Geog.* s. v. *Thessalia*).

<sup>123</sup> *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. iii. p. 199.

<sup>124</sup> Οἱ μὲν οὖν μυθολόγοι τῷ Δευκαλίωνι φασὶ περιστερὰν ἐκ τῆς λάρνακος ἀφιεμένην, δῆλωμα γενέσθαι, χειμῶνος μὲν, εἶσω πάλιν ἐνδυομένην, εὐδίας δὲ, ἀποπτᾶσαν. De Solert. *Animal*. xiii. ed. Didot. p. 1185.

<sup>125</sup> Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, 2nd ed. pp. 28—34.

<sup>126</sup> Τῶν ὀρνέων τινὰ τὸν Ξίσουθρον ἀφιέναι.—Μετίει τῶν ὀρνίθων.

<sup>127</sup> Πόδας πεπηλωμένους.—Ἀπύκατο γὰρ δὴ πηλοῦ κατὰπλεοὺ τοὺς παρσοῦς.

had dried from off the earth,"<sup>128</sup> whereas in the Hebrew we read "that the raven went forth, *to and fro*, until the waters had dried up from off the earth."<sup>129</sup> The expression "to and fro" leaves no doubt that the raven must have returned at intervals to the ark, and, in all probability, rested on the top, as, indeed, it is represented on these coins.

Should any further proof be required that the type of these coins refer to the Noachian deluge, it may be interesting to compare it with the early Christian monuments. M. Savinieu Petit<sup>130</sup> has published two drawings, of which

<sup>128</sup> Καὶ ἐξελθὼν, οὐκ ἀνέστρεψεν ἕως τοῦ ξηρανθῆναι τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπο τῆς γῆς.—Qui egrediebatur, et non revertebatur, donec sicca-  
rentur aquæ super terram. The Syriac version also agrees with the Septuagint and Vulgate.

<sup>129</sup> יצא מִן הָאָרֶץ וְשָׁם עֲרִיבֵשׁתָּ הַמַּיִם בְּנֶגַל הָאָרֶץ; Et exiit egrediendo et redeundo, donec arescerent aquæ desuper terram (Walton, *Polyglott*). See for the correctness of this passage Kalisch's *Hist. and Crit. Comment. on O. T.*, Patrick, *Commentary*, etc.

<sup>130</sup> *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. iii. pl. xxix., xxx. Our engraving (Pl. vii. No. 1) is a reduced drawing of pl. xxix. Plate xxx. is erroneously stated to be *Sculpture dans les catacombes de Rome*, whereas it is only an enlarged representation of the coins. The late Card. Wiseman (*Lectures on Science and Revealed Religion*, vol. ii. p. 133) has also illustrated the coins of Apameia by comparing them to early Christian monuments. He has also given an account with a drawing (vol. ii. p. 149 seq.; pl. ii.) of a remarkable earthen vase, found near Rome in 1696, within which were several seals and amulets, and, separated by a bronze circle, a set of figures consisting of twenty couples of animals, twelve of quadrupeds, six of birds, one of serpents, and one of insects. There were also thirty-five human figures, some single, some grouped, but all, with two exceptions, showing signs of trying to escape from drowning. These figures are of exquisite work, excepting two, which may have been added after. The material of which they were composed has not been stated. The metal box in which they were contained had windows, shutters, and a

one is a more exact representation of a painting in the catacombs, already well-known, and of the third century, representing Noah in the ark, and a dove, holding an olive branch in its mouth, flying towards him. The other drawing is an enlarged copy of the type on the coins, and not, as stated, a drawing from the catacombs. It is true that the wife of Noah is not represented on Christian monuments, nor even the raven, but one cannot fail to observe the striking similarity of the ark, its cover, the figure of Noah, and the dove holding an olive branch. M. Ch. Lenormant,<sup>131</sup> in alluding to the paintings of the catacombs, with especial reference to that representing the ark of Noah, says, "Le mérite éminent sous le rapport de l'art des peintures exécutées dans les catacombes, telles qu'on peut les étudier pour la première fois dans les beaux dessins de M. Savinien Petit, la tradition purement romaine qu'on remarque dans ces peintures, et qui les lie presque sans intermédiaire aux monuments de la fin du premier siècle, me semblent donner une grande vraisemblance à l'opinion suivant laquelle les plus anciennes de ces décorations auraient été exécutées dans le cours du iii<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère, pendant les intervalles de paix dont jouit alors l'Église Romaine. Si cette opinion était admise, les médaillons d'Apamée seraient contemporains des peintures des catacombes qui montrent

ladder of five steps. In fact, here was a regular *Noah's Ark*, as given to children of the present day. This remarkable monument came into the possession of Ficorini, and was very minutely published by Bianchini (*La Storia Universale provata coi monumenti*, p. 178 seq). A later edition of this work exists (without date), stating that the objects were in the house of the Ab. Giovanni Domenico Pennachi, but the Cardinal was not able to say what had become of this curious relic.

<sup>131</sup> *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. iii. p. 201.

le même sujet, représenté à très-peu de chose près de la même manière.”

Though the raven is not represented on any of the paintings of the Catacombs, it may be seen on a bas-relief found at D’Jemila, in Algeria, of which an account has been given by M. de la Mare.<sup>132</sup> What is most curious is, that the raven is here occupied in devouring the carcases of the drowned.

It having thus been established, both from the readings of the coins and from their types, that the deluge of Noah is intended to be alluded to upon them, the more difficult task remains, of assigning a reason for a Christian type appearing upon heathen monuments.

Eckhel commences his examination of the reasons with the following sentence:—“ At quæ causa, cur Apamenses Phrygiæ neque recutiti, neque tum adhuc Christiani peregrinum, et a sacris suis alienum typum arcesserent? Aio, neminem fore tantum sibi tribuentem, ut quæ privatim civitatibus fuere placita creditaque, speret se causas et originem posse quocunque studio reperire, aut tam morosum, ut factum quodpiam certum, et monumentorum auctoritate confirmatum credere nolit propterea, quia causas ignorat.” He then adduces some lines from the Sibylline books,<sup>133</sup> which he thinks may throw some light upon the subject. These lines had already been quoted by Falconeri, but he was, as we have seen, in favour of the flood of Deucalion.

The lines are as follow :—<sup>134</sup>

<sup>132</sup> *Revue Archéologique*, vol. vi. 1849, p. 196.

<sup>133</sup> Bryant (*Anal. of Anc. Myth.* vol. iii. ed. 1807, p. 48) has also illustrated the Noachian deluge by these lines.

<sup>134</sup> *Orac. Sibyllina*, lib. i. ver. 261, 262, and 265—267. Ed. C. Alexandre, Paris, 1841.



Ἔστι δὲ τι Φρυγίης ἐπὶ ἡπείροιο μελαίνης  
 Ἠλίβατον τανύμηκες ὄρος Ἀραράτ δὲ καλεῖται . . .  
 Ἐνθα φλίβες μεγάλου ποταμοῦ Μαρσύας πέφυκαν.  
 Τοῦδε κιβωτὸς ἔμεινεν ἐν ὑψηλῇ κάρῃ  
 Ληξάντων ὑδάτων.

which may thus be rendered, "There is on the mainland of black Phrygia a steep and far-stretching mountain, which is called Ararat. . . . Here arise the springs of the great river Marsyas. Upon its lofty top the ark rested as the waters receded."

Bochart<sup>135</sup> has proposed to read Κελαινῆς (*Celænæ*) for μελαίνης, a suggestion which has been adopted by Eckhel.<sup>136</sup> But M. Alexandre, in the edition from which I have quoted the verses,<sup>137</sup> prefers keeping μελαίνης, as Ararat, he says, "was not in Phrygia, but was the Hebrew name of Armenia, not only in Genesis, but generally in the LXX., so that the Vulgate interprets ὄρη τὰ Ἀραράτ by *montes Armeniae*." He also says "the word μελαίνης denotes fertility, and seems to be a proper epithet for the interior of Phrygia, with perhaps some allusion to the name of the city Celænæ." The adjective κελαινῆς (=μελαίνης) occurs in the third book of the Sibylline oracles (ver. 407):—

Ἀρχαίης Φρυγίης πολυδακρύτοιο κελαινῆς.

But it has been remarked<sup>138</sup> that "the geographical position of the Phrygians points to the highlands of Armenia as the land of their first abode," and from many circumstances "it is impossible not to come to the conclusion that the Phrygians were Armenians. . . . The time when they descended from the Armenian highlands

<sup>135</sup> *Geog. Sacr.* lib. i. ch. iii.

<sup>136</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 137.

<sup>137</sup> *Orac. Sibyll.* p. 48.

<sup>138</sup> Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Geography*, s. v. *Phrygia*.

cannot be determined, and unquestionably belongs to the remotest ages, for the Phrygians are described as the most ancient inhabitants of Asia Minor."

Now, here it may be mentioned that Pliny says that the Phrygian town of Apameia was "first *Celænæ*, then Cibotos, and then Apameia."<sup>139</sup> But in this he was mistaken, as *Celænæ* was a distinct town, though no great distance from Apameia.<sup>140</sup> Strabo<sup>141</sup> has suggested that *Celænæ* took its name from the dark colour of the rocks, in consequence of their being burnt, though Hamilton<sup>142</sup> observed that all the rocks are "without exception of a greyish white or cream-coloured limestone;" whilst some of the ancient numismatists<sup>143</sup> found an allusion to the blackness of the raven on the coins in the supposed ancient name of Apameia.

The term *κιβωτός*, "an ark," which is in the above-quoted passage of the Sibylline oracles, is of special interest, for not only is it employed by the Septuagint for the "ark of Noah,"<sup>144</sup> but Apameia was also called

<sup>139</sup> "Apamiam vadit ante appellatam *Celænas*, dein Ciboton." Lib. v. ch. 29.

<sup>140</sup> Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Geography*, s. v. *Celænae*.

<sup>141</sup> Lib. xii. ch. 8, ed. Didot, p. 496. He also says that perhaps it took its name from a Danaid of the name of *Celæno*.

<sup>142</sup> *Researches*, vol. i. p. 499.

<sup>143</sup> Gori, *Dissert. de Num. Apam. in Mus. Flor.* vol. iii. p. 154. "Corvum vero ob nigrorem, symbolum esse quandoque *Celænas*."

<sup>144</sup> Gen. vi. 14. As if in contradistinction to the "ark" in which Moses was found, for this is rendered by the LXX. (Exod. ii. 3, 5), *Θιβη* (var. *Θήβη*), which seems to be taken from the Hebrew *תִּבְיָה*, which is considered an Egyptian word (Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. p. 482). The Hebrew word *תִּבְיָה* is also employed for the "ark of Noah." The word *κιβωτός* is also used by the LXX. (Exod. xxv. 22, xxvi. 33; Deut. x. 8, xxxi. 9, 25, etc.), and in the New Testament (Heb. ix. 4; cf. Rev. xi. 19), to represent the Hebrew *אֲרוֹן*,

*Cibotos*.<sup>145</sup> The same name was likewise given to one of the harbours at Alexandria,<sup>146</sup> and the same term was made use of both by the Evangelists<sup>147</sup> and the Apostles<sup>148</sup> to designate "Noah's ark." Bochart<sup>149</sup> has supposed that Apameia received the name of *Cibotos* from being surrounded by three rivers,<sup>150</sup> which formed "an ark," whilst Salmasius<sup>151</sup> considers that it was so called, because Strabo<sup>152</sup> says that it was a great emporium, next in dignity to Ephesus, and *κιβωτός* signifies a "chest" or "coffer."

The river Marsyas, also mentioned in the Sibylline

"the ark of the covenant." The primary meaning of both these Hebrew words seems to be a "chest," both from the fact of *κιβωτός* being employed by the LXX. for each, and also from Josephus (*Antiq.* lib. i. 3, 6) using the word *λάρναξ*, "a coffer, box, chest," to designate the "ark." This last word is also employed by Plutarch (*De Solert. Animal*, xiii. ed. Didot, p. 1185) and Lucian (*De Ded. Syriæ*, xii. ed. Didot, p. 735) for the "ark of Deucalion," though the latter author in another place (*Timon*, sect. 3, ed. Didot, p. 22) uses *κιβώριον*. In Ælian (*Var. Hist.* ix. ch. 13) it is related that Dionysius, tyrant of Heracleia, an immensely fat man, used to talk to his friends with his body placed in a chest (*κιβωτός*), or as some say, a small tower (*πυργίσκον*), from which only his head protruded, whilst Plutarch (*ad Princ. Inerudit.* iv. ed. Didot p. 954) says that Dionysius' father, Clearchus, used to sleep in a chest (*κιβωτός*) as a serpent (*ὥσπερ ὄφης*). Berosus (Cory, *Ann. Frag.* 2nd ed. pp. 26—29) calls the ark of Xisuthrus *σκάφος*, *ναῦς* and *πλοῖον*, and in other passages of the Sibylline books the ark is called *δουράτειον δῶμα* (Lib. i. ver. 133) and *δουράτειος οἶκος* (Lib. i. ver. 212).

<sup>145</sup> Πρὸς Ἀπαμεία τῇ Κιβωτῷ, Strab. lib. xii. ch. 6, ed. Didot, p. 487. Ἀπάμεια Κιβωτός, Ptol. lib. v. chap. 2.

<sup>146</sup> Ὁ ὀρυκτός, ὃν καὶ Κιβωτὸν καλοῦσιν, Strab. lib. xvii. ch. 1, ed. Didot, p. 675.

<sup>147</sup> Matt. xxiv. 38; Luke xvii. 27.

<sup>148</sup> Heb. xi. 7; 1 Pet. iii. 20.

<sup>149</sup> *Geog. Sacr.* Lib. i. ch. 3.

<sup>150</sup> Plin. *Nat. Hist.* lib. v. ch. 29.

<sup>151</sup> Plin. *Exercit.* p. 580.

<sup>152</sup> Lib. xii. ch. 8, ed. Didot, p. 494.

verses, which took its origin either in or above Celænæ, and then, joining the Mæander, ran by Apameia,<sup>153</sup> was from the authorities of the coins also called *Cibotos*. The legend taken from a coin of Hadrian<sup>154</sup>—for it does not appear to occur earlier—as will be seen from the engraving (Pl. VI. No. 4), is ΜΑΡCΥΑC KIBOTOC AΠAΜEΩN, and the type a river-god reclining to the left.<sup>155</sup> Other coins of Philip<sup>156</sup> and Gordian<sup>157</sup> mention the two rivers together in the legend—ΜΑΡCΥΑC ΜΑΙΑΝΔΡOC—and Maximus Tyrius<sup>158</sup> says that both rivers were held sacred by the Apamæans.

There was also a Phrygian legend of a great flood, which is of special interest and great significance. It relates to Annacus, or Nannacus, a king who resided at Iconium. The tradition is as follows :—“They say that there was

<sup>153</sup> Leake, *Asia Minor*, p. 160. The river Marsyas is supposed to have arisen from the blood of a mythological personage of the same name, who was presumptuous enough to challenge Apollo to a musical contest. It is represented on a coin of Hadrian, with the legend ΜΑΡCΥΑC AΠAΜEΩN (Mionnet, vol. iv. p. 233, No. 243).

<sup>154</sup> Mionnet, vol. iv. p. 233, No. 242; cf. *Suppl.* vol. vii. p. 512, No. 159.

<sup>155</sup> Apameia received its name from *Apama*, the wife of Seleucus Nicator and mother of Antiochus Soter (Strabo, lib. xii. ch. 8, ed. Didot, p. 494), but Strabo is mistaken in supposing that she was daughter of Artabazus, for Arrian (lib. vii. 4) says she was daughter of Spitamenes, the Bactrian; whilst Livy (lib. xxxviii. 13) erroneously says that it was named from the sister instead of the wife of Seleucus. It would seem as if Cibotos was the name of an earlier city on the same site as Apameia, and that the latter name was added at the time of Seleucus Nicator.

<sup>156</sup> Mionnet, vol. iv. p. 237, No. 263.

<sup>157</sup> Mionnet, vol. iv. p. 236, No. 259.

<sup>158</sup> Φρύγες οἱ περὶ Κελαινὰς νεμόμενοι τιμῶσι ποταμοὺς δύο, Μαρσύαν καὶ Μαίανδρον . . . Θύουσι Φρύγες τοῖς ποταμοῖς, οἱ μὲν ἀμφοτέροις, οἱ δὲ τῷ Μαίανδρῳ, οἱ δὲ τῷ Μαρσύᾳ, κ.τ.λ. *Dissert.* viii. 8.

formerly a king named Annacus, the extent of whose life was above 300 years. The people round about inquired of an oracle how long he was to live, and the answer was that when Annacus died all mankind would be destroyed. The Phrygians, hearing this, made great lamentations, from which arose the proverb, τὸ ἐπὶ Ἀννακοῦ κλαύσειν, "the lamentation for Annacus," used for those who were in great grief. When the flood of Deucalion came, all mankind was destroyed."<sup>159</sup> There is not much doubt that the Old Testament influenced this tradition, and it is not therefore unreasonable to suppose<sup>160</sup> that there is here a reference to Enoch, the father of Methuselah, who, after his son's birth, "walked with God 300 years."<sup>161</sup> Indeed, Ewald<sup>162</sup> has supposed that the city Enoch, which was built by the eldest son of Cain, and called after his name,<sup>163</sup> refers to the Phrygian city of Iconium, where, as we have seen, the legend of Annacus was preserved.

Whatever suppositions may be brought forward for the appearance of these types, whether it be suggested that they may have been occasioned by the semi-gencrous treatment that the Christians received under Severus, or by the short peace under Macrinus, or by the Christian

<sup>159</sup> Φασὶ δ' ὅτι ἦν τις Ἀννακός, ὃς ἔζησεν ὑπὲρ τὰ τριακόσια ἔτη· τοὺς δὲ περίξ μαντεύσασθαι ἕως τίνος βιώσεσθαι. Ἐδόθη δὲ χρησμός, ὅτι τούτου τελευτήσαντος πάντες διαφθαρήσονται. Οἱ δὲ Φρύγες ἀκούσαντες ἐθρήνον σφοδρῶς· ὅθεν καὶ παροιμία, τὸ ἐπὶ Ἀννακοῦ κλαύσειν, ἐπὶ τῶν λίαν οἰκτιζομένων. Γενομένου δὲ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος πάντες διεφθάρησαν, κ.τ.λ. Stephanus Byz. s. v. Ἰκόνιον. Suidas (s. v. Νάννακος) also refers to the same tradition, but calls the king "Nannacus." Cf. Apollonius Rhodius II., 722. *Frag. Hist. Græc.* ed. Didot, vol. iii. p. 523.

<sup>160</sup> Buttmann, *Mytholog.*, vol. i. p. 176; Cf. Winer, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, s. v. *Henoch*.

<sup>161</sup> Gen. v. 22.

<sup>162</sup> *Geschichte d. Volkes Israel*, vol. i. p. 356.

<sup>163</sup> Gen. iv. 17, 18.

tendencies of the Emperor Philip, it seems to us certain that they were not issued by a Christian sect. The deep root which an ancient tradition of the Deluge—shown more clearly by the Phrygian legends above given, however they may have been influenced by the Biblical account—had taken at Apameia, seems far more likely to have caused the issue of these pieces. At the same time it would be too presumptuous to suppose that they might not have been designed by a Christian artist, for the worship of God had long circulated through all Asia Minor. It may also be observed that as the same type occurs upon the coins of Septimius Severus and Macrinus, as well as on those of Philip, one can draw no conclusion from it of the Christianity of this latter emperor.

It will be seen that the name of the ἀγωνοθέτης, or judge at the games, on the coin of Septimius Severus, is Artemas. His name with such an office is also found on other coins of Severus,<sup>164</sup> and on coins of his son Caracalla,<sup>165</sup> struck at Apameia. A Glyconos is recorded as ἀγωνοθέτης, at Perperene, in Mysia, under Aurelius,<sup>166</sup> but the title is rare on coins.<sup>167</sup> Hadrian is said to have occupied the office at Athens.<sup>168</sup>

Alexander, who is ἀρχιερεύς on the coin of Philip I., also

<sup>164</sup> Mionnet, *Suppl.* vol. vii. p. 513, No. 163.

<sup>165</sup> Mionnet, vol. iv. p. 235, No. 232; *Suppl.* vol. vii. p. 513, No. 164.

<sup>166</sup> Mionnet, *Suppl.* vol. v. p. 483, Nos. 1207, 1208; the coin given by Mionnet, vol. ii. p. 624, No. 707, is wrongly described; Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. ii. p. 475.

<sup>167</sup> The title of ἀγωνοθέτης occurs on some coins of Trajan Decius, to which we shall presently allude.

<sup>168</sup> "Multa in Atheniensibus contulit, et pro agonotheta resedit." Spart. in *Hadr.* 13. See the notes of Salmasius and Casaubon to this passage.

held the same office under Otacilia<sup>169</sup> and Philip II.<sup>170</sup> There is a coin of Philip I. with the same Alexander given by Vaillant,<sup>171</sup> with the words ΜΑΙΑΝΔΡΟC ΜΑΡCΥΑC, to which rivers we have alluded earlier in this paper.

On the accession of Trajan Decius, in A.D. 249, the seventh persecution<sup>172</sup> of the Christians commenced, caused, as Eusebius<sup>173</sup> and St. Jerome<sup>174</sup> relate, out of hate for the Emperor Philip, in the same way as we have seen above, Orosius gives the cause of the persecution under Maximinus from the hate this Emperor bore to Alexander Severus. Fabianus, Bishop of Rome, the first authentic martyr Pope, was one of the first victims,<sup>175</sup> and many Christians were killed in the great cities of the empire. The reign of Decius was not of long duration, as he was killed in the battle with the Goths in A.D. 251.<sup>176</sup>

During the reign of this Emperor a most remarkable coin was issued at Mæonia, in Lydia. It will be as well to give its full description, previous to giving any explanation of its type or legend.

<sup>169</sup> Mionnet, vol. iv. p. 237, No. 264.

<sup>170</sup> Mionnet, vol. iv. p. 238, No. 266.

<sup>171</sup> *Num. Imp. Græc.* p. 161.

<sup>172</sup> "Mox Decio imperante, jam tum septimâ persecutione sævitum in Christianos." Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacr.* lib. ii. 32. *Septimâ autem persecutione* sub Decio." St. Jerome, *de vir. illustr.* 62.

<sup>173</sup> *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 39; *Chronic.* ed. Scal. p. 220.

<sup>174</sup> *De vir. illustr.* 52.

<sup>175</sup> The Cav. de Rossi has found the name of Fabianus in the real cemetery of Callistus (Dean Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 188, *note*; cf. vol. iii. p. 329). Dean Milman notices (l. c.) that he has seen the name himself.

<sup>176</sup> M. de Witte (*Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. iii. p. 170) has shown that Tryphonia, or Cephinia, the wife of Herennius Etruscus, who was son of Decius, and perished with his father in A.D. 251, was converted to Christianity after the death of her husband.

*Obv.*—ΑΥΤ. Κ.Γ.Μ. ΚΥ. ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC ΔΕΚΙΟC. Bust to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum*.

*Rev.*—ΕΠ. ΑΥΡ. Α.† †ΙΑΝΟΥ Β. Α.Ρ. Α. ΤΟ Β. CΤΕ.†ΑΝΗ. In the *exergue*, ΜΑΙΟΝΩΝ. Bacchus, holding in the right hand a vase, and in the left a spear, seated to left on a chair, which is on a car drawn by two panthers. Before him a female (Ariadne?) walking to left, but looking at Bacchus and carrying a large vine-branch covered with grapes. (Pl. VII. No. 2.) Æ.

The reverse inscription of the coin may be read ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου Ἀφφίανου δις ἄρχοντος ἀγνοοθέτου τὸ δεύτερον, στεφανηφόρου.

This curious piece may be illustrated by another, struck at the same town with a similar type :—

*Obv.*—Α. Κ. Γ. Μ. Κ. ΔΕΚΙΟC ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC. Bust to the right, laureated, with cuirass ornamented with head of Medusa.

*Rev.*—ΕΠ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΠΦΙΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ Κ. ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ ΑΡΧ. Α. ΚΑΙ. CΤΕΦΑΝΗΦ. In the *exergue*, ΜΑΙΟΝΩΝ. Bacchus and Ariadne seated on a car to the right drawn by two panthers; before them Love flying, holding a torch. (Pl. VII. No. 3.) Æ.

The reverse inscription may be read ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου Ἀφφιάνου τοῦ καὶ Ἀθηναίου ἄρχοντος, ἀγνοοθέτου καὶ στεφανηφόρου.

Both these coins are in the *Bibliothèque*.<sup>177</sup> The first of these pieces was formerly in the Hedervar cabinet.<sup>178</sup> A variety of the second is published by Eckhel<sup>179</sup> from Vaillant. The editors of the *Ennery Catalogue*,<sup>180</sup> who

<sup>177</sup> Mionnet, *Suppl.* vol. vii. p. 370, No. 243; vol. iv. p. 67, No. 359.

<sup>178</sup> Sestini, *Descr. dell. Med. del. Mus. Hederv.* vol. ii. p. 309; pl. vii. add. fig. 4.

<sup>179</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 105.

<sup>180</sup> P. 433, No. 2430.



either had before them the first coin, or one similar to it, were the first to observe that the P and X of the syllable APX were combined, so as to form the monogram  $\text{P}\text{X}$ , and it has since been published, as I observed earlier in this article, by the late M. Charles Lenormant.<sup>181</sup> It is very curious that the engraver of the coin has taken care to place the monogram between two A's (A  $\text{P}\text{X}$  A) in the middle of the legend at the top of the coin. M. Lenormant has therefore supposed that a Christian moneyer intended to mark on this coin the sign of the true faith, and that the type is not at all opposed to this idea. He says,<sup>182</sup> "Les emblèmes bacchiques, appropriés à l'institution de l'Eucharistie, couvrent et le sarcophage de Sainte Constance, et les mosaïques qui décorent le mausolée de cette princesse."

The subject of the triumph of Bacchus is treated quite differently on the second medallion. Ariadne is seated near Bacchus, whilst Love flies before the car. In the first, Love is absent, and Ariadne walks before. M. Lenormant remarks,<sup>183</sup> "On dirait que le monétaire qui a gravé le monogramme du Christ au-dessus de cette scène s'est attaché à écarter du tableau ce qui pouvait offusquer la modestie Chrétienne, et à y faire prédominer les emblèmes, qui n'étaient pas incompatibles avec la nouvelle religion." M. de Witte has remarked <sup>184</sup> that "Le titre  $\alpha\pi\chi\omega$  choisi par l'artiste pour y introduire le monogramme sacré du Christ, semble offrir une allusion directe à la domination et au règne du Sauveur."

<sup>181</sup> *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. iii. p. 196.

<sup>182</sup> *Mél. d'Arch.* p. 197.

<sup>183</sup> *Mél. d'Arch.* p. 197, *note*.

<sup>184</sup> *Mél. d'Arch.* vol. iii. p. 172.

It has been observed by M. Lenormant,<sup>185</sup> that symbols of a similar character to the Christian monogram occur upon other monuments anterior to Christianity, and these have been brought forward as objections to considering the monogram on the medallions of Trajan Decius as having any reference to the monogram of Christ. But M. Lenormant has shown that the monogram occurring on the coins of the Ptolemies is very different to the monogram of Christ ( $\text{>P}$  instead of  $\text{XP}$ ), and probably stands for  $\text{XPYCTIΠOY}$ , and that the one on the tetradrachms of Athens has indeed another horizontal bar ( $\text{P}$ ), although the Abbé Martigny,<sup>186</sup> after a careful examination of these pieces, avows that the efforts made to denote a marked difference between the monograms on these earlier coins and that on the medallions of Trajan Decius do not seem to him plainly proved.

The oldest and most correct form of the monogram of Christ, according to the Abbé Martigny,<sup>187</sup> is that found above an antique inscription of Sivaux (Dept. of Vienne) [ $\text{XP}$ ]. A little later, the crossed lines are slightly shortened ( $\text{P}$ ), whilst the most notable change was the substitution of a transversal line instead of the letter X ( $\text{P}$ ). It is not here the place to enter into the question of the origin of the cross, or of the various opinions of the date of its adoption by the Christians, as it may be better alluded to with a description of the coins of Constantine the Great, a subject already handled by the late Abbé Cavedoni and the Padre Garrucci, and which I have promised the latter gentleman to examine at the earliest opportunity. Suffice it to say that an epitaph earlier

<sup>185</sup> *Mél. d'Arch.* vol. iii. p. 197.

<sup>186</sup> *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes*, p. 455.

<sup>187</sup> *Op. Cit.* p. 414.

than Constantine, given by De Rossi,<sup>188</sup> proves that the Christians had a monogram grouped ✠, upon which the Abbé Martigny has made the following remarks.<sup>189</sup> "Est-il croyable qu'ils n'aient pas eu l'idée de s'approprier aussi, et même de préférence, le ☩, signe très-connu dans l'antiquité, et qui, employé par les païens, aurait eu l'avantage, tout en offrant aux fidèles les initiales du nom de Christ, de donner satisfaction à ce besoin d'arcane qui fut un des caractères les plus saillants de la primitive Église?"

The form of the Φ in the words 'Αφφίανου and Στεφανηφόρου have been thought by the Abbé Greppo<sup>190</sup> to have and to allude to the form of the cross (+), but I agree with M. de Witte<sup>191</sup> that it would be hazardous to affirm that the artist had this intention, as the form on the coins is ⋈.

Eckhel has observed<sup>192</sup> that Apphianus on these coins, who is styled τοῦ καὶ Ἀθηναίου, was by birth a Mæonian, but by adoption an Athenian, and he has given many other similar examples under the coins of Laodicæa in Phrygia.<sup>193</sup>

The office borne by Apphianus is that of στεφανηφόρος. The στεφανηφόροι are said to be<sup>194</sup> certain magistrates in

<sup>188</sup> *Inscr. Christ.* vol. i. 16, n. 10.

<sup>189</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 416.

<sup>190</sup> *Notes concernant les premiers siècles Chrétiens*, p. 151, note.

<sup>191</sup> *Mémoire sur l'Imperatrice Salonine*, p. 51, note; in vol. xxvi. of the *Mém. de l'Acad. Roy. de Belgique*. The form ⋈ occurs on coins of the Seleucidæ and of Philadelphia in Lydia, certainly with no allusion to the Cross. Curiously enough it may also be seen on a coin of Salonina, struck at Sardis, published recently by the Rev. Churchill Babington (*Num. Chron.* N.S., vol. vi. p. 125, pl. iv. No. 2).

<sup>192</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 105.

<sup>193</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 164.

<sup>194</sup> Liddell and Scott, *Lex.* s.v. στεφανηφόρος.

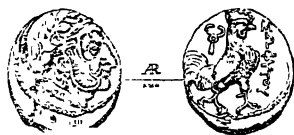
the Greek states, who had the right of wearing crowns when in office, as the archons at Athens. M. Beulé, who has written an extremely interesting paper on the *Stephanephoros*<sup>195</sup> has shown that he was an Athenian hero, whose statue, placed near the mint at Athens, held a crown, and was therefore called Stephanephoros, and suggests that he may be Theseus, the inventor of money according to the Athenian tradition. The statue or the crown occurs on some of the Athenian tetradrachms, the former being of very rare occurrence. For further particulars M. Beulé's paper should be carefully studied. Eckhel has also briefly spoken of this title.<sup>196</sup> It is worthy of notice that the chaplet (στέφανος) of Ariadne, given to her by Theseus, was, according to tradition, placed by Bacchus among the stars,<sup>197</sup> and that we have on these coins the type of Bacchus and Ariadne and the title of *Stephanephoros*.

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

<sup>195</sup> *Rev. Num.* 1857, p. 90, pl. xv.; *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 139. Paris 1858.

<sup>196</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iv. p. 212.

<sup>197</sup> Smith's *Dict. of Antiq.* s.v. *Astronomia*, p. 148 b; Beulé, *Rev. Num.* 1857, p. 98; *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 349.



## XII.

## COIN OF THE INDIAN PRINCE SOPHYTES, A CONTEMPORARY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

THE coin of Sophytes, engraved above, is one of the most interesting of the many valuable remains of Greek art which the prolific field of Western India has of late years yielded to our researches. The coin, which is in my own cabinet, is extremely rare, as the four other specimens that I have seen are all casts from this one original. I possess, however, a sketch of a fifth specimen, belonging to Major Pearse, which shows a different position of the beaded circle on the obverse, and is therefore most probably a genuine duplicate. My coin weighs  $58\frac{1}{4}$  grains, and belongs to the finest period of Greek art.

*Obv.*—Aged head of the king to right, covered with a helmet and cheek-piece, the whole surrounded by a beaded circle. The helmet is ornamented with a laurel wreath, and the cheek-piece with a bird's wing. On the slope, or cut edge, of the neck there is a single letter, which is either a M or a Σ, placed perpendicularly, perhaps for the initial of the name.

*Rev.*—A cock standing erect to right, with the legs parted as if walking. In the field to the left a caduceus and to the right the Greek legend ΣΟΦΥΤΟΥ; the whole surrounded by a beaded circle. R.

I have heard an experienced numismatist express an opinion that this coin should be assigned to some Satrap of Æolis, on account of the cock type of the reverse, which is similar to that of one of the coins that has been attributed by the Duc de Luynes to *Mania*, the petty governor of Æolis under the great satrap Pharnabazus. It may perhaps seem presumptuous in me to doubt the correctness of the Duc de Luynes's attribution of the coins with the legend ΔΑΡ to *Mania*.<sup>1</sup> I have only lately had an opportunity of seeing his valuable work on the coins of the Persian satraps, a book which for the last ten years I have tried in vain to purchase. After seeing the engravings, I venture to suggest that the coins in question may belong to *Derdas*, or *Dardēs*, Prince of Elymiotis in Southern Macedonia. I base my doubts about *Mania* on the fact that she was the governor of the *inland* Æolis, and that the town of Dardanus on the sea-coast did not belong to her, but to Athens. The legend ΔΑΡ, therefore, could not have been used either by herself or by her husband Zenis. I base my proposed attribution on the fact that *Derdas*, or *Dardēs*, was a contemporary of Amyntas II. of Macedon, whose coins bear the same horseman with the Macedonian hat as on No. 2 of the Duc de Luynes's Plate. They have also the same contracted form of name, AMYNT being used for AMYNTΟΥ, just as I suppose in the present instance ΔΑΡ has been used for ΔΑΡΑΟΥ.

The name of Sophytes is not a Greek one; and as the only two known specimens of his coins were both found in the Punjâb, I think that there are strong grounds for

<sup>1</sup> La Numismatique des Satrapies et de la Phénicie sous les Rois Achéménides. Pl. vi.

identifying him with the Indian Prince Sophites, the contemporary of Alexander the Great. The name is variously written by ancient authors. Strabo, Diodorus, and Arrian all write Σωπειθης, *Sopeithes*; but Quintus Curtius has *Sophites*, a spelling which is countenanced by the *Cuphites* of Justin, as well as by the similarly formed Indian names of *Sophagasenas* and *Mophis*.

The date of the coin affords perhaps the most rigid test for determining the correctness of my attribution. I have already stated that the execution of the piece shows it to belong to the finest period of Greek art, which in India would be comprised within the narrow limits of Alexander's invasion in B.C. 326 and the death of Eukratides in about B.C. 165. But from the use of the name only, without the title of king, I infer that the coin must have been struck before B.C. 306, when all the generals of Alexander had assumed the royal title. The same date also may be inferred from the peculiar cheek-piece of the helmet, which is similar to that on a well-known type of Seleukos Nikator. I conclude, therefore, from all these concurring evidences of goodness of workmanship, simplicity of legend, and peculiarity of helmet, that King Sophytes of the coin under review must have been reigning during the early part of the career of Seleukos I., or between 312 and 306 B.C. If this conclusion be admitted, it is then impossible to withstand the natural inference that the *Sophytes* of the coin must be the same person as King Sophites, the Indian contemporary of Alexander the Great.

The historians of Alexander have preserved several curious particulars regarding Sophites and the people and country over which he ruled. Of the king himself Curtius records that he was pre-eminent amongst the

barbarians for beauty,<sup>2</sup> and Diodorus adds that he was six feet in height.<sup>3</sup> His people also were remarkable for their beauty, which, according to Diodorus, they endeavoured to preserve by destroying all their children who were not well formed. Strabo relates the same thing of the Kathæi, but as he adds that they elected the handsomest person for their king,<sup>4</sup> his account must be referred to the subjects of Sophites, as the Kathæi of Sangala had no king. There is, however, so much confusion between all the authorities in their accounts of the Kathæi and the subjects of Sophites, that it seems highly probable that they were one and the same people. They were certainly neighbours, and as both of them would appear to have had the same peculiar customs, and to have been equally remarkable for personal beauty, I conclude that they must have been only different tribes of the same race of people.

The accounts of the country of Sophites are equally conflicting. Thus Strabo records,<sup>5</sup> "some writers place *Kathæa* and the country of *Sopeithes*, one of the nomarchs, in the tract between the rivers (Hydaspes and Akesines): some on the other side of the Akesines and of the Hyarotis, on the confines of the territory of the other Porus, the nephew of Porus who was taken prisoner by Alexander, and call the country subject to him *Gandaris*." This name, I believe, may be identified with the present district of *Gundal-bâr*, or *Gundar-bâr*. *Bâr* is a term applied only to the central portion of each Doâb, comprising the high lands beyond the reach of irrigation from the two including rivers. Thus *Sandal*, or *Sandar-bâr*, is

<sup>2</sup> IX. 1.<sup>3</sup> XVII. 49.<sup>4</sup> XV. 1—30.<sup>5</sup> XV. 1—30.



the name of the central tract of the Doâb, between the Jhelam and the Chenab. The upper portion of the *Gundal-bâr* Doab, which now forms the district of Gujarât, belonged to the famous Porus, the antagonist of Alexander, and the upper part of the *Sandar-bâr* Doâb belonged to the other Porus, his nephew, who is said to have sought refuge amongst the *Gandaridæ*. The commentators have altered his name to *Gangaridæ*, or inhabitants of the Ganges; but it seems to me that the text of Diodorus<sup>6</sup> is most probably correct, and that the name of *Gandaridæ* must refer to the people of the neighbouring district of *Gandaris*, who were the subjects of Sophites.

The rule of this Indian prince was not, however, confined to the Doâb between the Hydaspes and Akesines, for Strabo<sup>7</sup> relates that "in the territory of Sopheithes there is a mountain composed of fossil salt, sufficient for the whole of India." As this notice can only refer to the well-known mines of rock salt in the Salt Range, the whole of the upper portion of the Sindh Sâgar Doâb must have been included in the territories of Sophites. His sway therefore would have extended from the Indus on the west to the Akesines on the east, thus comprising the whole of the present districts of Pind-Dâdan and Shâhpur. This assignment of the valuable Salt Mines to Sophites may also be deduced from a passage in Pliny by the simple transposition of two letters in the name of a country, which has hitherto puzzled all the commentators.

<sup>6</sup> XIX. 47.

<sup>7</sup> XV. 1—30. This notice was most probably derived from Kleitarchos, one of the companions of Alexander, as Strabo quotes him in another place (v. 2, 6) as having mentioned the salt mines in India, *καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἅλας*.

Pliny says,<sup>8</sup> "When Alexander the Great was on his Indian expedition he was presented by the King of *Albania* with a dog of unusual size," which successfully attacked both a lion and an elephant in his presence. The same story is repeated by his copyist Solinus,<sup>9</sup> without any change in the name of the country. Now we know from the united testimony of Strabo, Diodorus, and Curtius, that the Indian king who presented Alexander with these fighting dogs was *Sophites*, and he therefore must have been the king of *Albania*. For this name I propose to read *Labania* by the simple transposition of the first two letters. AABAN would therefore become ABAN, which at once suggests the Sanskrit word *lavana*, or "salt," as the original of this hitherto puzzling name.

The name of the salt mountain itself is also given by Pliny in another place<sup>10</sup> as *Oromenus*, for which I am unable at present to suggest any satisfactory derivation. I notice it, however, for the sake of the remark which Pliny adds, that the kings of the country obtained a greater revenue from the rock salt than from either gold or pearls. I wish to draw special attention to this point for the purpose of showing the prominent position which Sophites must have held amongst the princes of the Punjâb. In the time of Akbar the town of *Bhira* on the Jhelam, where the salt duties were levied, yielded £50,000 annually,<sup>11</sup> or just one-third of the whole revenue of the district of the upper *Chaj Doâb*, between the Chenab and Jhelam rivers. Under Rânjit Sinh the salt-mines produced a revenue of £80,000, which was

<sup>8</sup> Hist. Nat., viii. 61.

<sup>10</sup> Hist. Nat., xxxi. 39.

<sup>9</sup> C. 20.

<sup>11</sup> Ayin Akbari, ii. 262.

afterwards doubled by Gulâb Sinh. It fell to £140,000 during the first two years of British rule,<sup>12</sup> but it is now, I believe, not less than £200,000. But the prominent position held by Sophites will be better understood by a comparison of his probable revenue with that of his neighbours, Taxiles, Porus, and Abissares. The following returns show the sums for which the different districts were farmed during the latter years of Ranjit Sinh's reign, at about half their actual value:—

Taxiles .	{ Chach-Hazâra . .	£10,000
	{ Râwal-Pindi . . .	10,000
	{ Hasan Abdâl . . .	10,000

Total . . . £30,000, or £60,000 full value.

Porus. . . Gujarât . . . . . £30,000, or £60,000     „

Abissares	{ Pakhli, Dhamtor .	£5,000
	{ Muzafarâbâd . . .	10,000
	{ Dângali, Khânpur	10,000

Total . . . £25,000, or £50,000     „

Total of the 3 princes £85,000, or £170,000 full value

Sophites.	{ Dhani, Katâs. . .	£10,000
	{ Bhira, Kushâb . .	10,000
	{ Pind Dâdan Khan	5,000
	£25,000, or £50,000 full value.	
Salt duties . . . . .		80,000

£130,000<sup>13</sup>

From these details I infer that the annual revenue of

<sup>12</sup> Journal Bengal Asiatic Society, 1853, p. 248.

<sup>13</sup> This amount is but little more than was obtained by the Emperor Akbar from these districts nearly three centuries earlier, the total sum from the two Doâbs being £291,000.

Sophites was about double that of any one of the neighbouring princes.

In my account of the ancient geography of the Panjâb I have identified Bhira on the Jhelam with the capital of Sophites, which Alexander had fixed as the point where the camps of Kraterus and Hephæstion were to be pitched on opposite sides of the river, there to await the arrival of the fleet of boats under his own command, and of the main body of the army under Philip. According to Arrian,<sup>14</sup> Alexander reached the appointed place on the third day. The capital of Sophites was therefore on the Hydaspes, at three days' sail from Nikæa for laden boats. Now Bhira is just three days' boat distance from *Mong*, which I have shown to be almost certainly the position of Nikæa, where Alexander defeated Porus. Bhira also, until it was recently supplanted by Pind Dâdan Khân, has always been the principal city in this part of the country. At Bhira the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian crossed the Jhelam in A.D. 400, and against Bhira, eleven centuries later, the enterprising Baber conducted his first Indian expedition. Opposite to Bhira stands the modern town of Ahmedâbâd, close to which there is an old ruined mound called Barâri, which is said to have been the capital of Raja *Jobnâth*, or *Chobnâth*. At this point the two great routes of the salt caravans diverge to Lahor and Multan, and here accordingly was the capital of the country in ancient times.

The name of the traditionary Raja *Chobnâth*, or *Tsobnâth*, as it is pronounced by most of the Western Panjabis, may be referred either to the Sanskrit *sobhâ*, "beauty," or to the Persian *chob*, a "stick or club." The first would be specially applicable to *Sophytes*, as the handsome

<sup>14</sup> Anab., vi. 3.

king of a people who were remarkable for their personal beauty; and as *nāth*, a lord or king, is the same as *pati*, the name of *Chobnāth* may at once be identified with *Sophites*, as *Sobha-pati*, the "handsome king." The second derivation from the Persian *chob*, a stick or club, recalls the statement of Curtius, that when Sophites went to meet Alexander, he carried in his hand a golden sceptre studded with beryls. The term used by Curtius is *baculum*, which means a staff, or sceptre, and not a club. This last derivation may also be applied to the *Sobii*, *Sabæ*, or *Sibæ*, who carried sticks or clubs in their hands, and marked their oxen with clubs, and who, from their position, were almost certainly the subjects of Sophites. By Dionysius Periegetes they are coupled with the Taxili to the north of the Salt Range, and by Diodorus and Curtius they are placed at the junction of the Hydaspes and Akesines, to the south of the Salt Range. As far as I can see, these discrepancies can only be reconciled by supposing that the *Sobii* were the actual inhabitants of the Salt Range, where they would have been the immediate neighbours of the Taxili on the north, while they would have stretched as far south as the junction of the Hydaspes and Akesines. The term used by Arrian for the sticks carried by the *Sibæ* is *Scytale*, *σκυτάλη*,<sup>16</sup> which as it is also applied to a wooden roller, and to a snake of even thickness throughout, must mean a cylindrical stick or wand, and most probably therefore a *lāthi*, or common *bambu* stick, such as is still carried by many of the people of India at the present day.

I have been thus particular in describing the staff or

<sup>16</sup> Arrian, *Indica*, v. —. The term used by Strabo, xv. 1, 8, is *rhopalos*, *ρόπαλον*.

sceptre of Sophites, and the stick or club of the Sobii, because I think it highly probable that the caduceus on the coin under review may be only a Hellenised form of the actual sceptre of Sophites. I am led to this inference by the fact that I have found the peculiar symbol, which forms the top of the caduceus, on numerous coins and seals of ancient Taxila, as well as on a single gold ornament which I extracted from a tope at Mânikyâla. A similar symbol, but with three prongs, is of common occurrence on the Buddhist monuments of India, where it is found either as an independent symbol, or attached to the top of a stick or a flag-staff. In the same way therefore the two-pronged symbol of Taxila may have been used either as the top of a sceptre or of a flagstaff. Its frequent occurrence on the local coins and seals shows that it must have possessed some peculiar significance amongst the people of North-western India.

Another explanation of the caduceus on this coin has also occurred to me in connection with the type of the cock, in the word *subhâ* or *sobhâ*, which in Sanskrit means "light or splendour," as well as "beauty," and which is therefore one of the commonest terms now in use for the dawn or daybreak. The cock, as the herald of the dawn, may possibly be only a punning allusion to another derivation of the name of the prince, a custom which was familiar to the Greeks on the coins of Himera, on which the cock, as the herald of day, *ἡμερα*, clearly refers to the name of the place. The caduceus, or herald's wand, would therefore be only a secondary symbol in connection with the cock as a herald. The other derivation here alluded to is from *sobhâ*, "light," and *huta*, "calling," that is, the proclaimer of light, or herald of day. *Sobhâ-huta* would naturally be shortened to *Sobhuta*, which is

almost identical with the Greek Σωφύτης of the coin. It is, however, only suggested as a possible derivation of the Indian prince's name in connection with the type of the cock, for which it offers at least a plausible reason.

The weight of the coin of Sophytes,  $58\frac{1}{4}$  grains, affords, I think, another evidence in favour of its Indian origin. It might, perhaps, be called a light Attic drachma, but this seems scarcely possible, as the coin is not worn or rubbed. I observe also that out of 40 drachmas of Alexander in Leake's collection there is only one below 60 grains in weight. Now the standard silver coin of ancient India was the *Kārsha*, the *κέρσα* Ἀσιανὸν νόμισμα of Hesychius, which was 32 *reti*s in weight. This is not the place to discuss the true weight of the *reti*, or bright red-and-black seed of the *Abrus precatorius*. I may state, however, that the result of all my experiments and inquiries makes the average weight of the *reti* seed between 1·82 and 1·83 grains. I have adopted 1·8229 grain as the standard *reti* weight for the purpose of facilitating calculation, as 240 *reti* seeds will be exactly equal to one ounce avoirdupois. The full weight of the silver *Kārsha* would therefore be  $58\frac{1}{2}$  grains, or only a fraction more than that of the coin of Sophytes. This, also, is the true weight of the old Indian punch-marked silver coins, as, out of 186 specimens, I found 10 above 55 grains, of which 2 weighed  $56\frac{1}{2}$  grains each. As the whole of these coins had been worn by circulation, the true mint weight may be safely assumed to have been a little over 58 grains.

In conclusion, I have only a few remarks to offer on the portrait of Sophytes, which represents a man of mature age, and of very striking and peculiar features. I notice more particularly the retreating forehead, the full projecting chin, and the strongly marked lines of the cheek

and neck, which are indicative of age. The neck also is unusually broad and thick, showing great bodily strength. The face is equally remarkable for beauty of feature and dignity of expression, and is no doubt a true portrait of the Indian king. We know from Curtius and Diodorus that Sophites was left in possession of his kingdom by Alexander, and we learn from Arrian that he was still in possession when the conqueror halted at his capital on his descent of the Hydaspes. After this there is no further mention of Sophites; but, like Porus and Taxiles, he must at first have been tributary to Eudamus, the satrap, or military governor, of Alexander's Indian provinces. But in B.C. 317, when Eudamus, after having treacherously murdered Porus, marched with all his troops and elephants to the assistance of Eamenes, the two Indian chiefs Taxiles and Sophites must have been left virtually independent. It is to this period, therefore, that I would assign the mintage of the present coin, or between 316 B.C., when Eudamus was put to death by Antigonos, and 306 B.C., when all the generals of Alexander had assumed the title of king. If we suppose Sophites to have been 35 years of age at the time of Alexander's expedition in B.C. 326, he would have been 45 in B.C. 316, and 55 in B.C. 306, a period of life which corresponds exactly with the aged features of the king as represented on the coin under review.

My remarks on this coin have extended to considerable length; but as it is the earliest specimen of the Græco-Indian series that has yet been discovered, I feel that an apology is scarcely needed for the many details which I have entered into for the elucidation of this very interesting and novel specimen of ancient Greek art.

A. CUNNINGHAM.






## XIII.

DISCOVERY OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS AT  
WHITE HORSE, NEAR CROYDON.

A NOTICE of this discovery was communicated to the Numismatic Chronicle four years ago by the Rev. Henry Christmas, and is printed in the N.S., vol. ii. p. 302, so that it is needless for me to repeat here the particulars of the manner of the discovery, and the general nature of the hoard. As the great bulk of the coins then found have, however, since passed into my possession, I think it may be of interest to give a detailed list of the different varieties which I have examined, adding to it some other coins which were included in the sale Catalogue of the collection of the Rev. Mr. Christmas, and some now in the collection of Mr. W. Allen.

It will be remembered that beside the coins, which range in date from about A.D. 850 to 875, some silver ingots and fragments of ornaments were found, about which it appears desirable to say a few words, as they have not been before described. The ingots which I have are two in number, about one-and-three-quarters and two inches long by three-eighths of an inch wide, and nearly semi-cylindrical in form; they weigh 264 and 346 grains respectively. Besides these there is a portion of a roughly-shaped square bar of silver, about three-eighths of an inch on each side, and one inch in length. At each

end it shows how the bar was first notched on two sides at right angles to each other with a chisel, and then broken. The weight of this piece is 229 grains. The three other fragments are apparently portions of bracelets. The heaviest is flat, about one inch and a half long, half an inch wide, though tapering towards one end, and barely an eighth of an inch thick. The bracelet has been ornamented exteriorly with embattled lines  punched in at intervals of about the twelfth part of an inch. This fragment weighs 236 grains. The others are cylindrical, a full eighth of an inch in diameter. The longest is much bent, but about four inches long, weighing 191 grains. A neat pattern is punched in along what was the outside of the bracelet—if such it was—consisting of a central row of diamonds in contact with each other, and with the triangles between them filled up with three pellets in each . The smaller piece is rather less than two inches long, and weighs 65 grains. It is ornamented in a nearly similar manner, but only shows a part of one pellet instead of three . It would appear from the weight as if these were intended to represent the value of 10, 8, and 3 pennies respectively, as—

$$\begin{array}{rcl} \frac{236}{10} & = & 23.6 \text{ grains.} \\ \frac{191}{8} & = & 23.9 \text{ ,,} \\ \frac{65}{3} & = & 21.7 \text{ ,,} \end{array}$$

weights which nearly correspond with the penny of the time, though slightly heavier. In the Cuerdale find portions of bracelets and other ornaments also occurred, but I am not aware whether the weights seemed to be approximately multiples of that of the penny.

The coins to which asterisks are prefixed bear the names of moneyers not mentioned by Ruding, and it is worthy of note that the coins of Alfred being those of his first type, present names of several moneyers who, though not before observed in connection with the coins of Alfred, were known to have minted under his predecessors, Æthelred and Æthelbert. Besides the coins described Mr. Allen has the half of a penny of Archbishop Ceolnoth.

In conclusion I may add that in general character this Croydon hoard much resembles that discovered near Gravesend in 1838, and described by Mr. Hawkins in the Numismatic Chronicle, O.S., vol. iii. p. 14.

JOHN EVANS.

#### MERCIA.

#### BURGRED, 852—874.

1. *Obv.*—BVRGRED REX. (Ruding, pl. viii. 23.)  
*Rev.*—BE7GLZT7 . MON. . 7 ET7 . (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)
2. *Obv.*—BVRGRED REX-X. (Ruding, pl. viii. 23.)  
*Rev.*—BE7GLZT7 77ON ET7. (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.) 2 specimens.
3. *Obv.*—BVRGRED REX-X. (Ruding, pl. viii. 23.)  
*Rev.*—BER7E7 . 77ON . 7 ET7. (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.) 2 specimens slightly varied.
4. *Obv.*—+BVRGRED REX —. (Ruding, pl. vii. 5.)  
*Rev.*—LVNEHLM MON ETA. (Ruding, pl. vii. 5.)
- \*5. *Obv.*—BVRGRED REX. Peculiar head, much like Ruding, pl. viii. 20.  
*Rev.*—BH7LHLM MON ET7. (Ruding, pl. vii. 5.)
6. *Obv.*—As last. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)  
*Rev.*—LENRED (MON) (ET7). (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.) 2 specimens.

7. *Obv.*—BVRĠRED REX I. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)  
*Rev.*—LENRED ∴ MON ∴ ∴ ETŦ ∴ (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)
8. *Obv.*—BVRĠRED REX̄. (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)  
*Rev.*—As last.
9. *Obv.*—BVRĠRED REX. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)  
*Rev.*—As last.
10. *Obv.*—As last. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)  
*Rev.*—DENRED (MON) (ETA. (Ruding, pl. viii. 23.)
11. *Obv.*—BVRĠRED REX . (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 8.)  
 Double band in hair.  
*Rev.*—DENRED ·MON· ·ETŦ· (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)
12. *Obv.*—BVRĠRED REX —. Head much like Ceolwlf.  
 (Ruding, pl. viii. 1.)  
*Rev.*—DIALLTŦF MŌN ETŦ. (Ruding, pl. vii. 5.)
13. *Obv.*—As last. (Var. of Ruding, pl. vii. 5.)  
*Rev.*—LITLLTŦF MON ETŦ ∴ (Ruding, pl. vii. 5.)
14. *Obv.*—+ BVRĠRED REX. (Var. of Ruding, pl. vii. 5.)  
*Rev.*—+ LITLLTŦ FMON ETŦ. (Ruding, pl. vii. 5.)
- \*15. *Obv.*—BVRĠRED REX M̄. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 7.)  
*Rev.*—EVDĒBERH ∴ MON ∴ ∴ TETŦ ∴ (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)
16. *Obv.*—+BVRĠR ED REX —. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 15.)  
*Rev.*—+DŦ·DŦ ∴ MON ETA. (Ruding, pl. viii. 15.)
- \*17. *Obv.*—BVRĠRED REX —. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 8.)  
*Rev.*—DEŦLINE ∴ MON ∴ ∴ ETŦ ∴ (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.) 2 specimens.
18. *Obv.*—BVRĠRED REX Ō. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 6.)  
*Rev.*—DITŦRVLF MON ETŦ ∴ (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)
19. *Obv.*—BVRĠRED REX —. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 23.)  
*Rev.*—DITŦRVL FMON ETŦ ∴ (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 24.)
20. *Obv.*—BVRĠRED REX—+. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 6)  
 Bust like 11.)  
*Rev.*—+DILŦ ∴ MON ETŦ. (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)

21. *Obv.*—†BVRIGRED REX. (Var. of Ruding, pl. vii. 4.)  
*Rev.*—DVDDT MON ETA. (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)
22. *Obv.*—As last. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 14.)  
*Rev.*—†DVDDT . MON . . ETAT. (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)
23. *Obv.*—†BVRIGR+ ED REX —. (Var. of Ruding, pl. vii. 1.)  
*Rev.*—†DVDELI IMONI . . ETAT. (Ruding, pl. viii. 10.)
24. *Obv.*—BVRIGRED REX —. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 23.)  
*Rev.*—DYDPINE . . MON . . . . ETAT . . (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)
25. *Obv.*—BVRIGRED REX ☉. (Head like Ruding, pl. viii. 6; bust as 11.)  
*Rev.*—DYDPINE MON ETAT . . (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)
26. *Obv.*—BVRIGRED REX I. (Ruding, pl. viii. 11.)  
*Rev.*—ETADNOÐ . . MON . . . . ETAT ☿. (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)
27. *Obv.*—BVRIGRED REX |. (Head like Ruding, pl. viii. 23; bust peculiar.)  
*Rev.*—ETDVLV . . MON . . . . ETAT . . (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)
28. *Obv.*—BVRIGRED REX M̄. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 13; double inner circle.)  
*Rev.*—ETLDVLV . . MON . . . . ETAT . . (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)
29. *Obv.*—BVRIGRED REX ☉. (Head like Ruding, pl. viii. 6; bust like 20.)  
*Rev.*—EÐEYLF . . MON . . . . ETA . . (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)
30. *Obv.*—BVRIGRED REX —. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 23.)  
*Rev.*—EÐEVLV . . MON . . . . ETAT . . (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.) 3 specimens.
31. *Obv.*—As last. (As last.)  
*Rev.*—EÐELVLV . . MON . . . . ETAT . . (As last.)
32. *Obv.*—BVRIGRED REX. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)  
*Rev.*—As last. (As last.)
33. *Obv.*—As last. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)  
*Rev.*—GVÐHERE . . MON . . . . ETAT ☿ (As last.)
34. *Obv.*—BVRIGRED RE—X. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 24.)  
*Rev.*—GVÐ-ERE . MON . ETA . (As last.)

35. *Obv.*—BVRGRED REX. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 7.)  
*Rev.*—GVDERE .: MON .: .: ETX. (As last.)
36. *Obv.*—BVRGRED REX  $\overline{\text{M}}$ . (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 11.)  
*Rev.*—HEPVVLF .: MON .: .: ETX .: (As last.)
37. *Obv.*—BVRGRED REX $\overline{\text{X}}$ . (Head as Ruding, pl. viii. 6; bust as 11.)  
*Rev.*—As last. (As last.)
38. *Obv.*—BVRGRED REX. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 23.)  
*Rev.*—+ HEPVLF .: MON .: .: ELX .: (As last.)
39. *Obv.*—BVRGRED RE  $\overline{\text{M}}$ . (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)  
*Rev.*—HEREFER DMON ETX. (As last.)
40. *Obv.*—BVRGRED REX  $\overline{\text{M}}$ . (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)  
*Rev.*—HVLERE D MON ETA. (Ruding, pl. viii. 23.)
41. *Obv.*—+ BVRGRED RE. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 7.)  
*Rev.*—HVLERE D MON ETX .: (Ruding, pl. viii. 7.)
42. *Obv.*—BVRGRED RE  $\overline{\text{M}}$ . (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 6 II. *incentio.*)  
*Rev.*—HVLERE D MON ETA. (Ruding, pl. viii. 23.)
- \*43. *Obv.*—BVRGRED REX. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)  
*Rev.*—LITFVXL DMON ETX ✱ (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)
44. *Obv.*—BVRGRED REX —. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 23.)  
*Rev.*—LIFLALD .: MON .: .: ETX .: (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)
45. *Obv.*—BVRGRED REX —. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 6.)  
*Rev.*—OZMPND MON ETX .: (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)
46. *Obv.*—As last. (Var. of Ruding, pl. vii. 5.)  
*Rev.*—OZMPND MON ETX .: (Ruding, pl. vii. 3.)
47. *Obv.*—BVRGRED REX—✱ (Var. of Ruding, pl. vii. 5.)  
*Rev.*—+TATX .: MON ETX. (Ruding, pl. vii. 6.)
48. *Obv.*—+BVRGRED REX. (Ruding, pl. viii. 14.)  
*Rev.*—+TATX MON ETX. (Ruding, pl. viii. 6.)
49. *Obv.*—BVRGRED REX. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 23.)  
*Rev.*—+TATX: .: MON .: .: ETX .: (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)








- \*50. *Obv.*—BVRIGRED REX.— (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 23.)  
*Rev.*—TIDEHELM ∴ MON ∴ ∴ ET∴ (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)
51. *Obv.*—BVRIGRED REX. (Var. of Ruding, pl. viii. 12.)  
*Rev.*—+WLZZ∴ (MON) (ITH). (Ruding, pl. viii. 20.)  
 IN∴ MONET∴, LVÐNEM MONET∴ (Allen).

## EAST ANGLIA.

## ÆTHELWEARD.

ÆDELWARD REX ∴. *Rev.*—∴ÆTHELHELM. Cross, with crescents in the angles. (Christmas.)

## EADMUND, 855—870.

1. *Obv.*—+ EADMVND REX.  in centre.  
*Rev.*—+ EADP∴LD MO ∴. Cross, with pellets in angles.
- \*2. *Obv.*—+ EADMVND REX.  in centre.  
*Rev.*—+ EADBERHT MO.  as last.
3. *Obv.*—+ EADMVND REX.  in centre.  
*Rev.*—+ ZIFERED MOT.  as last.
4. *Obv.*—+ EADMVND REX ∴N. Cross, with crescents in angles.  
*Rev.*—HEDEL∴VTF + MÖ. (Retrograde.) Cross, with triangles in angles.
5. *Obv.*—As No. 4.  
*Rev.*—HEDEL∴VTE + MO. (Retrograde.) Cross, with pellets in angles.
6. *Obv.*—+ EADMVND REX ∴N.  in centre.  
*Rev.*—BEORNFERÐ MO.  Cross, with pellets in angles.

As No. 1, BEORNHTEH, EADMVND MONE. As No 4, DECALE MONE. As No. 6, and EADMVND REX ∴N; Fig. as in Hawk No. 92. *Rev.*—TWIC∴ MON; cross and pellets. (Christmas.)

SOLE MONARCHS.

ÆTHELRED, 866—871.

1. *Obv.*—+ÆDELRED REX. Bust to right. (As Ruding, pl. xv. 3.)  
*Rev.*—BIARNET H MO VETĀ. (Ruding, pl. xv. 4.)
2. *Obv.*—As No. 1. Bust to right. (As Ruding, pl. xv. 1.)  
*Rev.*—BIARNM D MON ETĀ. As No. 1.
3. *Obv.*—As No. 1. As No. 1.  
*Rev.*—BIARNM DM NETĀ. As No. 1.
4. *Obv.*—As No. 1. As No. 1  
*Rev.*—BVRLNO D MONETĀ. As No. 1.
5. *Obv.*—ÆDELERED RE. As No. 2.  
*Rev.*—DEHEPTAL D MON ETĀ. (As Ruding, pl. xv. 1.)
6. *Obv.*—As No. 1. As No. 1.  
*Rev.*—DVNN MON ETĀ. As No. 1.
7. *Obv.*—As No. 1. As No. 1.  
*Rev.*—+ DVNN MON ETĀ. As No. 1.
8. *Obv.*—As No. 1. As No. 2.  
*Rev.*—ELBERE M D N ETĀ. (Ruding, pl. xv. 3.)
9. *Obv.*—As No. 1. As No. 1.  
*Rev.*—EDELRED MON ETĀ. As No. 1. 2 specimens.
- \*10. *Obv.*—As No. 1. As No. 1.  
*Rev.*—+ WINE MON ETĀ. As No. 1.  
 EDELRED MONETĀ, MANN MONETĀ (Christmas).  
 LIABINĒ MONETĀ (Allen).

ALFRED, 872—901.

- \*1. *Obv.*—ÆELBRED REX. Bust to right. (As Ruding, pl. xv. 1.)  
*Rev.*—BIARNRE DMON ETA W. (Ruding, pl. xv. 1.)
2. *Obv.*—As No. 1. (As Ruding, pl. xv. 2.)  
*Rev.*—BIARNV LF MO HETĀ. As No. 1.
- \*3. *Obv.*—As No. 1. As No. 2.  
*Rev.*—DITRELM MON ETA ° ° As No. 1.



4. *Obv.*—As No. 1. As No. 1.  
*Rev.*—† DVDD MON ETΛ ∴ As No. 1.
5. *Obv.*—ÆELBRED REX. As No. 1.  
*Rev.*—† DVDD: MON ETA ∴ As No. 1.
- \*6. *Obv.*—As No. 1. As No. 2.  
*Rev.*—ELBERE MON ETA. As No. 1. 2 specimens.
- \*7. *Obv.*—As No. 1. As No. 2.  
*Rev.*—~~HEREBΛ~~ D M~~Q~~ NETA. As No. 1.
- \*8. *Obv.*—As No. 1. As No. 2.  
*Rev.*—†EREMOD .MON. ∙ ETΛ ∙ As No. 1 2 specimens.
- \*9. *Obv.*—As No. 1. As No. 2.  
*Rev.*—LIΛBINE MON ETΛ. As No. 1.
- \*10. *Obv.*—As No. 1. As No. 2.  
*Rev.*—LVHINE MON ETΛ ∴ As No. 1.
- \*11. *Obv.*—As No. 1. As No. 2.  
*Rev.*—OSLEΛR DMO NETA. As No. 1.
- \*12. *Obv.*—As No. 1. As No. 2.  
*Rev.*—TORHMY ND M<sup>∴</sup>O NETA. As No. 1.  
 DVNN MONETA, BOSΛ MONETA. (Christmas.)  
 HEΛLF MONETA (Allen).

## XIV.

SASSANIAN GEMS AND EARLY ARMENIAN  
COINS.

I TRUST that English numismatists will welcome into the pages of their journal a notice illustrating a collateral, but closely-allied branch of archæology—albeit pertaining to Oriental history—which has been suggested by the interpretation of the legends on that prominent example of gem engraving, the Duke of Devonshire's well-known amethyst.

The ordinary range of numismatic associations is indeed far surpassed in the surroundings of the signet of VARAHRÁN, *Kermán Sháh*, whose kingly individuality is preserved under the double aspect of exceptional elaboration of portraiture, and the illustrative record of the names and contrasted titular dignities of the imperial father, and locally regnant son, while the relic itself claims an enhanced interest as a recognised emblem of royalty, which has been worn on the person, and directly employed in the more important affairs of state by the potentate whose sign-manual it represented.

The Hebrew Scriptures<sup>1</sup> and the earlier Greek writers<sup>2</sup> alike attest the extended use of seals, in days of high antiquity, among the more civilised nations of the East, and

<sup>1</sup> Genesis xxxviii. 18, 25; xli. 42. Exodus xxviii. 9, *et seq.* 1 Kings xxi. 8. Nehemiah ix. 38. Esther iii. 10, 12; viii. 2. Job. xxxviii.\*14. Jeremiah xxxii. 10, 44. Daniel vi. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus i. 195; iii. 128; vii. 69. Ctesias, apud Phot. lvii. 2—5. Xenophon Cyrop. viii. c. 2, § 16, 17.

contemporary monuments from time to time brought to light by modern discoveries, fully illustrate and confirm incidental tradition. With the advance of national culture the signets of all classes would naturally adapt themselves to more systematic classification, and equally seek a higher measure of imaginative device and artistic execution; hence the Sassanian period not alone presents us with abundance of the coarser stamps of the people at large, and many of the better specimens of the Glyptic art pertaining to the higher classes, but has preserved for our examination even the state seals of the empire, which are described by the home historians as having reached such an amount of elaboration in their designs and application, that the celebrated Naushirwán employed *four* distinct public seals, each with varied legends and devices, while Khusru Parviz amplified the division into *nine*, which severally represented a special department of government.<sup>3</sup>

The signet I have now to describe was engraved during the reign of the great Sapor (2nd *Zu'laktaf*), the persevering and eventually successful adversary of Constantius, Julian, and Jovian; it bears his name, with the imperial title of "King of Kings," in conjunction with the less exalted designation of "King of Kermán," which had been bestowed upon VARAHRÁN, as executive ruler of the province from which the title was derived,

<sup>3</sup> "Eberwiz avait neuf sceaux qu'il employait dans les affaires du royaume. Le premier était un anneau de diamant dont le chaton était formé d'un rubis rouge sur lequel on avait gravé le portrait du roi; la légende portait les titres du roi; on l'apposait sur les lettres et les diplômes. Le second était un anneau d'or surmonté d'une cornaline sur laquelle étaient gravés les mots—*Khorásán Khudah* (King of Khorásán). Il servait aux archives de l'Etat."—*Masaudi*, Paris edit., vol. ii. p. 228.

and over which he presided in the lifetime of the father, and during the two subsequent reigns, till his own elevation to the Empire of Persia and its dependencies.

The profile of the youthful ruler on the original gem is, in its execution, an unusually perfect work of art, and though a certain amount of conventional Oriental treatment might be supposed to detract from its intrinsic merit, the portrait reproduces, in full distinctness, a man in the prime of life, endowed with singular beauty of feature, while even the sensuality of the eye is compensated by the marked vigour and determination of the face, that should so well become a king of Eastern races. The general details of the head-dress will be seen to follow the ancient models, an imitation the Sassanians especially affected as the boasted successors of the family of Darius.

The legend surrounding the portrait of the king (*omitted in the engraving*), pl. viii., is as follows:—

2017-2018  
 2019-2020  
 2021-2022

This legend may be transcribed and translated as follows:


ورهران کرمان ملکا بڙي مزدیسني بڳي شاپوهری ملکان ملکا

איראן ו אניראן מנוצתרי מן יזדאן

ایران و انیران منوچتری من یزدان

"Varahrán, king of Kermán, son of the Worshipper of Ormazd, the 'divine Sháh-púr, King of Kings of Irán and non-Irán, of celestial origin from God."



for some time past been freely recognised in the long `The Parsi i =  the *Yái-Ma'rúf* of modern Persian.

Those who are curious in such matters will not fail to remark the Aryan characteristic disregard of the true powers of  $\text{𐬀}$  L and  $\text{𐬀}$  R; the former letter is used in its right phonetic value in *Maṭka*, while it is made to do duty for an R in *Varahrán*, &c., notwithstanding that the proper letter for R (a sign answering also for V) is employed in *Barí*.

I am anxious to avail myself of this opportunity to advert to the sub-Parthian series of coins, specimens of which were given in the *Num. Chron.*, vol. xii. p. 68,

The imperfection and uncertainty of the forms of the legends, which are at times absolutely reversed, scarcely admits of any very positive determination of the leading name of *Dáril*, which may be rendered *Dakil*, or at times transcribed as *Daráil* and *Darali*, but the patronymic *Ithúrdat* [which M. Lenormant makes into "*Ithoucapheth*"] occurs on earlier coins, and is preserved amid the more popular names in the later Pehlvi (see *Athúrdád*, *Gem*, Nos. 65—68, &c., *J. R. A. S.* xiii.)

I may add in connection with the nomenclature on the later Parthian coins, that in addition to the names of *𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀*, *Mithridates* (coin in B. M.) *𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀*, *Vologeses*, *𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀*, *Artabanes*, and a doubtful *Artavasdas* to be found on the Imperial series, I have met with the name of Tiridates, *𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀*, on an Armenian coin, and a like designation among the kings named in the *Pázi Kúli* Bilingual Inscriptions copied by Sir H. Rawlinson (*Athenæum*, 17 March, 1866. *Jour. Geog. Soc.* ix. 30. The Sassanian text, in which alone it appears, gives the name as *𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀*).

In conclusion of this somewhat discursive note, I may perhaps be permitted to cite a curious confirmation of my late speculations in the *Num. Chron.* (N. S., iv. p. 210) regarding the derivation of the name *Kodes*, in its Greek form, from the Persian *Kobád*. General Cunningham has lately brought home two coins of the Kodes type, one of which bears in full, in Chaldæo-Pehlvi letters, the name *𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀*, *Guát*. The second has the Greek transcript on one surface and the commencement of *𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀* on the other.

as, by the light of a more complete decipherment of the legends on an earlier class of money, I am now in a position to arrange a very comprehensive sequence of mintages pertaining to the kingdom of Armenia. Mr. Vaux some years ago published in our journal (xviii. 143), three coins of a very unusual type, with legends, in what were supposed to be Phœnician characters; too close an adherence to the requirements of Phœnician palæography alone defeated a satisfactory interpretation of these legends, which, by a more free concession to the dominance of an archaic type of Chaldæo-Pehlvi, may now be deciphered and explained, and the coins themselves appropriated to Artaxias,<sup>5</sup> the Satrap of Armenia, who in 189—188 B.C. threw off his allegiance to Antiochus the Great, and founded the flourishing kingdom which eventually descended to the Armenian branch of the Arsacidæ.

I need not reproduce the previous transliterations, but content myself with giving the transcripts I now obtain, from a re-examination of the coins themselves—

Plate. Vol xviii. p. 139—

No. 6 . . . .	—	ורחד	בחדת
No. 7 . . . .	ארסגך	ורחדרשיג	בגדי
No. 8 . . . .	ארס	ורחדרשי	רחד
New Coin in the B.M. .	—	ורחדרשיג	רחדאת
			בד

I understand the opening word on Nos. 6 and 7, notwithstanding the minor variations in the two examples of *Bahdat* and *Bagdi*, to mean simply the “divine”—The *Baga* of the cuneiform inscriptions,<sup>6</sup> and the *Bagi*

<sup>5</sup> Justin, xlii. c. ii. Strabo, xi. c. xiv. §5—15. Polybius, xxvi. 6. St. Martin, L'Arménie, i. 286—490.

<sup>6</sup> Rawlinson, J. R. A. S., x. 93.

of the gem legend—a term so frequently associated with royalty in the East. The name of *Ortadarsheg*, or *Artadarsheg*, certainly does not coincide literally with the ordinary Greek transcription, but both the Greek and Latin reproductions of the designation are uncertain, and we may fairly assume that the coin orthography gives the true version of the Armenian name of “*Ardaschas*.”<sup>7</sup> The concluding term *Arsagak*, I imagine to be the title, which seems, as a compound *titular* name, to have a root in common with the generic designation of the Arsacidæ.<sup>8</sup> The *Ratu dat bad*, on the new piece (if such be the correct transcription), appears to connect itself with the Zend 𐬢𐬀𐬭𐬀, Persian 𐬔𐬀, an epithet frequently applied to Zoroaster,<sup>9</sup> while the *dat*, “gift,” and *Bad* or *Pat*, “lord,” are simple and obvious in their meaning. On subsequent coins this combination is replaced by 𐬢𐬀𐬭𐬀 . . . . . *Ur-bad*, “lord of fire,” the modern 𐬢𐬀𐬭𐬀 *Hirbad*.

Of identical types, but slightly altered legend, succeeds a coin bearing the name of 𐬢𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀, *Ortahdisashtar*, which may be attributed to Artavasdes, the son and successor of Artaxias.

The varied fortunes of the kingdom of Armenia are broadly marked in the progressive typical details of her coinage, passing from the original obverse designs of her own princes, tinged, as they were, with home treatment, to purer Greek art, which again had to cede to the

<sup>7</sup> St. Martin, i. 409.

<sup>8</sup> Artaxerxes Mnemon bore the name of *Arsaces* before he came to the throne. The names of *Arses*, *Arsames*, *Arsamenes*, and *Dadarses*, point to a similar derivation, which is probably the Scythic root *irs*, “great” (Norris, J. R. A. S., xv. 205), hence *irs-saka*.

<sup>9</sup> Hyde, p. 317; Spiegel, 443.



more material presentations of Roman craftsmen, to fall at last to Parthian barbarism.

The reverse devices are more constant, for, after the first effort of partial imitation of the current models of the Seleucidæ, Artaxias definitively adopted the Fire Temple, which, with but slight modifications of its accessories, remained to the end Armenia's numismatic emblem.

The first change from the normal type is marked by a narrowed surface, and a deeper impression on the coin, associated with a Grecised adaptation of the Scythic head-dress into the form of a helmet, surmounted by the Roman eagle. The helmet and the head it covers then degenerate into a coarser Roman design, sunk on a less perfectly modelled die; and on the reverse a bird is introduced opposite to the single Magus. These coins seem to be intentionally wanting in legends.

Next in order succeed a series of coins of very similar fabric, but a crescent takes the place of the eagle on the helmet. These pieces bear legends in the local character, but the letters are crudely formed, and irregularly distributed; among other imperfectly legible designations, they retain in two instances the name of *Itúrdat*, "gift of fire," probably the original compound, which has been perverted into the modern versions of "*Artovart, Ardoates*," &c. The name is for the first time followed by the title of מלכא, "king."

And, finally, coins are found with an identical reverse, combined with a Parthian head imitating the profile of Tiridates I. (Arsaces II.), and bearing the same name of תרדט, Tirdat, with the now conventional title of *Malka*.

EDWARD THOMAS.

## NOTICE OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

In No. 1 (January and February) of the *Revue Numismatique* for 1866, there are the following articles :—

1. "Lead coins of Mediolanum (Milan) found at Mont-Berny (Oise)," by M. Adrien de Longpérier.

2. "Heraclea of Lyncestidis. A pretended king, but really a town," by M. Fr. Lenormant.

3. "On some Silver Medallions attributed either to Carthage, or to Panormus, or to the Punic Armies in Sicily" (conclusion), by M. A. Judas.

4. "Inedited Fragment of Nicetas Choniates relative to a Numismatic Fact," by M. E. Miller.

5. "Attribution to Ragenfrid, mayor of the palace under Dagobert III. and Chilperic II., of a Merovingian Silver Coin," by M. Fr. de Pfaffenhoffen.

6. "Bellinzona. Anonymous Testoon struck in this locality by the Cantons of Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwald, in the sixteenth century," by M. A. Morel-Fatio.

7. "Gold Florin of Robert of Anjou, Prince of Achaia," by M. Bretagne.

In the *Chronique* are two articles :—

1. "A few more words on the letters O B," by Dr. Julius Friedlaender.

This note is translated from the *Berliner Blätter für Münzkunde*, vol. i., p. 209, 1863. The same note with remarks will be found in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S., Vol. III., p. 143, 1863.

2. "Coins of Château Regnault," by M. J. Rouyer.

In the *Nécrologie* are notices of M. le Duc de Blacas and M. le Dr. Voillemier.

In No. 2 (March and April) of the *Revue Numismatique* for 1866 there are the following articles :—

1. "The Armed Venus on the Coins of Corinth," by M. Fr. Lenormant.

2. "Christian Signs on the Coins of Constantine and his Sons before and after the Death of Licinius," by M. R. Garrucci.

This paper, though not so stated, is a translation by M. le Baron de Witte of part of an article placed by M. Garrucci as an "Appendix," in the second edition of his *Vetri ornati di*

*figure in oro*, Rome, 1864, in 4to., with plates in fol. It was reviewed by the late Abbé Cavedoni, in the 1st Volume of the *Rivista della Numismatica*, p. 210, Asti, 1864; and the review was replied to, after the death of Cavedoni, by the Padre Garrucci in the second volume of his *Dissertazioni Archeologiche di vario Argomento*, p. 23, Rome, 1866. It is well known that for some time past both Cavedoni and Garrucci have carefully studied the subject, and that both have written extensively on the question. I am not at present in a position to give any *résumé* of the theories or differences of these two numismatists, but as nothing has as yet been written in England, I propose to examine, should I have health and leisure, all that has appeared on the Continent, and will then give to English numismatists a full account of "Constantinian Numismatics." F. W. M.

3. "Mélanges de Numismatique, I. Find of Coins of the Lower Empire," by M. Ch. Robert.

The Roman gold coins here described are of the reigns of Valentinian I., Valens, Gratian, Valentinian II., and Arcadius, and were discovered in 1865 in Poitou. They have been purchased by MM. Rollin and Feuarent. The find consisted of 28 *solidi* and two medallions. Of the *solidi* may be noticed the curious coin of Valentinian I., with the letters O—B in the *field*, which letters have been frequently explained in earlier volumes of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, and on which there are a few remarks in the previous number of the *Revue Numismatique*. The medallions are of Valentinian I. and Valens. That of the former Emperor has the legend GLORIA ROMANORVM, and is similar in type to the one in the British Museum (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, No. 3; Madden, *Handb. to Rom. Num.*, pl. vi, No. 5), with the *exergue* letters S. M. TR. This new medallion has in the *exergue*, TROBS. According to M. Cohen (*l.c.*) there was a medallion formerly in the *Cabinet des Médailles* with the letters TROB. The medallion of Valens is inedited. It has the legend VICTORIA D. N. AVGVSTI, and was struck at Thessalonica (in *exergue*, TESOB). Most of the gold medallions of Valens existing are preserved at Vienna. The description of these coins is followed by a few remarks on the distinction between medallions and coins, and concludes by considering these pieces as *double solidi*, an opinion in which we fully participate.

4. "Deniers struck at Milan, in the name of the Emperors Otho I. and II.," by M. Fr. de Pfaffenhoffen.

5. "Coins of Cyprus and Salona," by M. P. Lambros.

6. "Méreaux of Copper and Lead—inedited *jetons* of the town of Meaux," by M. A. Lefebvre.

In the *Chronique* is a note by Dr. Julius Friedlaender of the collection of coins at Berlin, from which it appears that the Royal collection at present possesses, without counting duplicates, more than 56,000 ancient coins, of which 1,760 are of gold. There are 28,000 Greek coins (380 of gold), and 28,000 Roman and Byzantian coins (1,380 of gold).

In the *deuxième livraison* of the *Revue Numismatique Belge* for 1866, there are the following articles :—

1. "Description of a Barbarous *Triens* of the end of the Merovingian Epoch," by M. le Dr. A. Namur.

2. "A Coin of Gorig, Bagratid dynast of Armenian Albania." Letter from M. Victor Langlois to M. R. Chalon.

3. "Inedited Coins of the Marquis of Montferrat, struck at Chivasso, Casal, &c.," by M. Morel-Fatio.

4. "Numismatic Curiosities. Rare or Inedited Coins" (9th article), by M. Renier Chalon.

5. "Catalogue of Obsidional Coins and of *pièces de nécessité*," by M. le Lieut.-Col. P. Mailliet.

6. "Medal in honour of the Prince Alexander Labanoff de Rostoff," by M. le Baron de Koehne.

7. "Find of Coins of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, made in the excavation of the road from Reichlange to Éverlange, grand-duchy of Luxembourg," by M. le Dr. Namur.

8. "Documents pour servir à l'Histoire des Monnaies," by M. de la Fons-Mélicocq.

9. "Instruction et ordonnance suivant laquelle Jean Goffin, maître monnoyeur de S. A. Sme., se de vera gouverner et régler au fait de la monnoye d'or et d'argent qui S. A. lui a permis de forger," communicated by M. Stan. Bormans.

In the *Correspondance* are letters from M. le Comte Maurin Nahuys and from M. le Chanoine van de Putte to M. R. Chalon.

In the *Mélanges* are notices of recent numismatic publications.

In the *Nécrologie* are brief notices of Dr. John Lee and M. Alphonse Duleau.

In the *Proceedings of the Society* it is stated that the King of Belgium, on the proposal of the Minister of the Interior, has conferred on the Belgian Numismatic Society the title of "Royal Society." It is therefore now known as *Société Royale de la Numismatique Belge*.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MANCHESTER NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.  
Part III. 1866.

THIS number is principally occupied by three papers from the pen of the President of the Society, Dr. Charles Clay, on the Early American Coinage, and on the Vox Populi Coinage of 1760. There are also notices by the same author of the John Wilkinson Halfpenny, and the Coinage of the Isle of Man; and one of the Donaldson Testimonial Medal by Mr. Darbyshire. There are two admirable photographic plates in the number: one of rare early American, colonial, and other coins; and the other of the gold medal presented to Professor Donaldson on his retirement from the Chair of Architecture at University College, London. The latter is the most successful instance of photography as applied to numismatics with which we are acquainted. We may add that a privately-printed Catalogue of the collections of American coins, tokens, medals, bills, &c., and also the Currency of the Isle of Man, from the Cabinets of Charles Clay, M.D., President of the Manchester Numismatic Society, has lately been issued.

MISCELLANEA.

COUNTERMARKED GAULISH COIN FOUND IN SWITZERLAND.—The small coin of which a woodcut is given below has been kindly communicated to me by the distinguished Swiss antiquary, Dr. Keller, of Zurich. It is of gold, and was found a short time ago at Jegensdorf, in the Canton Bern, and is now in the possession of Dr. König of that place. Its most remarkable feature is



the small countermark upon the head on the obverse, the device on which appears to be a cock. Dr. Keller remarks that on the Gaulish gold coins most commonly occurring in Switzerland there is beneath the biga a small figure, which also appears to represent the head of a cock. A specimen of the kind has been engraved by Dr. H. Meyer (*Mittheil. der Ant. Ges. in Zürich*, xv. p. 19); and he suggests that the head of a cock may have formed the symbol or warlike standard of the Helvetii, which distinguished them from the other Gaulish tribes. The figure beneath the biga bears, however, a great resemblance to the sort of horned serpent which occurs as the principal type on many of the German "*Regenbogen-schüsselchen*," and which, in a slightly-altered form, is found on the British coins of Dubnovellaunus and others. The cock appears as the principal type

on a Gaulish coin (Lambert, pl. vii. 35), and a bird with ears and a tail like a cock, is to be seen above the horse on a British silver coin (Evans, pl. G. 2). Whatever may be the signification of the device, the occurrence of a Gaulish countermark on a Gaulish coin is well worthy of being placed on record, and will I hope lead to the publication of other similar instances. The only other to which for the present I can refer is a coin of rather earlier date, having both horses of the biga on the reverse, and engraved in Hucher's "*L'Art Gaulois*," pl. i. No. 1. This *stater* was found near La Ferte-Bernard (Sarthe), and is considered by M. Hucher to have been struck for the Arverni. It bears on the cheek of the head on the obverse a small countermark rather larger than that on the Swiss coin, and surrounded by a beaded circle. The device is a small so-called hippocampus, with the tail turned upwards, and ending in three pellets. M. Hucher considers this countermark to have been affixed by the Auleri-Cenomanni. What is remarkable is, that the piece is an ancient fabrication; so that possibly the countermark is forged also, like the head of George III. so frequently punched in on the plated Spanish dollars at the time when the genuine coins were current in this country.—J. E.

**FIND OF COINS.**—In October last a hoard of 141 pennies of Edward I. and II. was discovered in the parish of Keir, in the county of Dumfries, and has been sent in to the Scotch Exchequer. They had been deposited in a horn, which at the time of the discovery was protruding from a bank of earth. The proportion of coins of different mints was as follows:—

London . . . . .	56
Canterbury . . . . .	45
Durham . . . . .	23
Bury St. Edmund's . . .	6
York . . . . .	5
Berwick . . . . .	2
Bristol . . . . .	2
Newcastle . . . . .	2

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GEORGE SIM.

**SALE OF COINS.**—A valuable collection of coins and medals—Romano-British, Early British, Anglo-Saxon, and English—was dispersed by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, on the 26th March, and contained the following interesting lots:—Lot 7. Hadrian, 2 *Æ*; rev. *BRITANNIA*—£3 4s. Lot 16. Commodus, 1 *Æ*; rev. *VICT. BRIT.*—£4. Lot 27. Severus,

1 Æ; rev. VICTORIÆ BRITANNICÆ, from the Ramsay Cabinet—£7. Lot 31. Severus, 2 Æ; rev. VICT. BRIT.—£3 11s. Lot 60. Cuthred, *Aud.* pl. iii. n. 1—£3 19s. Lot 63. Coenwulf, *Rud.* pl. vi. n. 12—£3. Lot 115. Henry I., *Hks.* 265 of the Wallingford Mint—£4 12s. Lot 178. Charles I., pattern half-crown by *N. Briot.*, O. REX. DA. FACILEM CURSUM, from the Murchison sale—£4 6s. Lot 187. Charles I., Oxford crown, 1643, very fine—£5 5s. Lot 188. Charles I. Oxford half-pound, 1642, without ground under the horse, £5 5s. Lot 391. Jetton of Sir John Fortescue, Privy Councillor to Queen Elizabeth and James I., *Medallic History of England*, pl. xi. n. 2; extremely rare; from the Devonshire and Holmesdale Cabinets—£2 4s. Lot 395. Jetton of Thomas Cecil, eldest son of the great Lord Burleigh, and first Earl of Exeter, *Med. Hist. Eng.* pl. xi. n. 5—£2 1s. Lot 404. Jetton of Charles I. and his queen; rev. REGIS REGNORUM, &c., 1635, half-length busts of their three children—£2 14s. Lot 424. Medalet of Dorcas Brabazon, wife of Sir George Lane, of Tulske, by Abraham Simon—£10 5s.

SALE OF COINS.—The highly valuable and interesting collection of Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon coins of Captain R. M. Murchison was dispersed by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge on the 28th May, 1866, and two following days. The undermentioned lots are deserving of special notice:—Lot 9. BODVOC, *N.*, *Evans* pl. 1 n. 2—£5. Lot 10. BODVOC, *R.*, *Ev.* pl. i. n. 3, found at Beckford—£21. Lot 15. Antedrigus, *N.*, *Ev.* pl. i. n. 7, engraved from this coin, with the important legend ANTEDRIGV—£7. Lot 23. Verica, *N.*, *Ev.* pl. ii. n. 10; rev. VIR REX horseman charging to the right—£9 17s. 6d. Lot 28. Dubnovellaunus, *R.*, *Ev.* pl. iv. n. 11, engraved from this coin, DVBNQ., laureate beardless head to left—£3 12s. 6d. Lot 32. Tasciovanus, *N.*, *Ev.* pl. v. n. 10, TASC., horseman galloping to the right—£5 5s. Lot 34. Idem, *N.*, *Ev.* pl. viii. n. 6; TASCIO RICON on a double band, across an upright ornament composed of five lines—£10. Lot 37. Cunobeline, *N.*, *Ev.* pl. ix. n. 2; obv. CAMVL on a tablet, rev. CVNOBELIN within a curved exergal line; two horses galloping to the left—£20. Lot 46. Idem, *Æ.*, *Ev.* pl. xii. n. 13, CVNO on a tablet within a wreath—£16. Lot 47. Idem, *Æ.*, *Ev.* pl. xiii. n. 1, CVNO on a tablet under two youthful janiform heads—£13 13s. Lot 58. Baldred, *R.*, *Hks.* 57; rev. +SILESTEF. MONET, and within a circle DRVR LITS = *Dorovernia Civitas*—£48. Lot 74. Cynethryth, Queen of Offa, *Hks.* 67; rev. +LYNEYRYL. RELIN·T,

with the Saxon  $\mathfrak{M}$  = *Merciorum*, in a circle of pellets—£35. Lot 75. Archbishop Jaenberht, *R.*, unpublished + IENBERHT.  $\mathfrak{A}$ :  $\mathfrak{R}$  EP, in three lines across the field; rev. OF.FT.REX formed out of the ends of a cruciform ornament, found in digging the foundation for the Martyrs' Memorial at Oxford—£38. Lot 76. Idem, *R.*, *Rud.* xii.; rev.  $\diamond$  FFF  $\mathfrak{A}$  in an ornament formed of two ovals—£20. Lot 77. Archbishop Æthilheard, *R.*, Num. Chron. N. S., vol. 5, pl. xiv. n. 6,  $\therefore$   $\mathfrak{A}$  EDILH $\mathfrak{A}$ RD. $\mathfrak{A}$ RCEPI, in three lines across the field—£21 10s. Lot 88. Idem, under Coenvulf,  $\mathfrak{A}$   $\mathfrak{A}$   $\mathfrak{A}$ , a variety of *Rud.* pl. xiii. n. 3; CENVVL $\mathfrak{F}$ . REX.  $\mathfrak{M}$ ., the first V X and  $\mathfrak{M}$  are within the limbs of a tribrach—£30. Lot 96. Beornvulf, *R.*, *Rud.* pl. vi., +BEORN $\mathfrak{P}$ VL $\mathfrak{F}$ . REX. $\mathfrak{M}$ . (the X and  $\mathfrak{M}$  in monogram, and thus forming the bust), bare head to the right—£26. Lot 97. Idem, *At.*, *Hks.* 78, +BEORN $\mathfrak{P}$ UL $\mathfrak{F}$ . RE. $\mathfrak{M}$ . (the  $\mathfrak{M}$  forming part of the bust), head to the right—£29. Lot 108. Beonna. Sceatta, *Hks.* 88, the king's name in Runic characters; rev. +EFE, in the angles of a cross—£19 5s. Lot 124. Ecgrith, Styca, *Hks.* 99; rev. LYXX in the angles of a radiate cross—£20. Lot 144. Ecgbearht, *R.*, *Rud.* 14 n. 8, +ELLBEORHT. REX., and within the circle SAXON in three lines—£20. Lot 216. Archbishop Ethered, under Alfred,  $\mathfrak{A}$   $\mathfrak{A}$   $\mathfrak{A}$ , *Hks.* 149, +E $\mathfrak{D}$ ERED  $\mathfrak{A}$ RHIEPI, bust to the right; rev. E $\mathfrak{D}$ ERED MONET $\mathfrak{A}$ , an ornament formed of four semicircles—£46. Lot 248. Eadweard I. half-penny, *Hks.* 183; rev. BIORHT-VVALD. in two lines, divided by three crosses—£10 10s. Lot 275. Eadred half-penny, rev.  $\mathfrak{B}$ IORHALF. MO. in two lines, divided by three crosses; unique; found at Tewkesbury—£9 9s.

SALE OF COINS.—The valuable collection of English coins in gold and silver formed by the late William Gott, Esq., of Leeds, was dispersed by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, on the 12th July, 1866, and following day. It contained many very fine specimens, some of which are selected as being worthy of notice. Lot 31. Richard II. half-noble—£6 6s. Lot 50. Richard III. angel—£7 15s. Lot 53. Henry VII. sovereign, *Rud.* 4 n. 4, a very fine piece—£39. Lot 54. Idem, *Rud.* 4 n. 5—£15. Lot 58. Henry VIII. sovereign, eighteenth year, *Rud.* 5 n. 1—£15. Lot 71. Edward VI. sovereign, sixth year, *Rud.* 8 n. 6, extremely fine—£12. Lot 78. Mary half-angel, of great rarity—£11 5s. Lot 80. Mary sovereign. *Rud.* 9 n. 1, a beautiful specimen—£8 2s. 6d. Lot 106. James I. thirty shilling piece, *Rud.* 12 n. 5, highly preserved—£7. Lot 131. Charles I. sovereign, by Briot, *Rud.* 24 n. 1, extremely fine—£7 10s. Lot 134.



Charles I. Oxford three pound piece, 1643, very fine—£7 2s. 6d. Lot 138. Charles I. coronation medal, *N*, by N. Briot, rev. *DONCO PAX*, &c., 1626, very fine—£7 2s. 6d. Lot 151. Cromwell half-broad, 1658, extremely fine—£12 5s. Lot 160. Charles II. five guinea piece, 1668, *ANNO REGNI VICESIMO*—£10. Lot 180. William III. five guinea piece, with elephant and castle below the bust, extremely fine, £7. Lot 210.\* George III. pattern two guinea piece, 1777, by Yeo—£9 2s. 6d. Lot 264. Ecgfrith, Styca, *Hks.* 99; rev. *LYXX* within the angles of a radiate cross—£23. Lot 280. Charles I. Oxford pound, *R.* 1643, of fine work—£19.

**SALE OF COINS.**—The collection of Greek, Roman, English, and foreign coins and medals, chiefly formed by a gentleman, now resident on the Continent, was dispersed by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge on the 20th August, 1866, and following day, and the undermentioned lots are selected as most worthy of notice:—Lot 29. Galba, *N*, restored by Trajan; rev. *IMP. CÆS. TRAIAN*, &c.; Liberty standing—£7 2s. 6d. Lot 33. Nerva, *N*; rev. Liberty—£9. Lot 44. Severus, *N*; rev. *VIRT. AVG.*, &c.—£6 10s. Lot 45. Sev. Alexander, *N*; rev. Liberty to left—£5 12s. 6d. Lot 55. Johannes, *N*; rev. Emperor to right—£4 15s. Lot 57. Pulcheria, *N*; rev. Victory with long cross—£4 12s. Lot 75. Agrippina, *R*; rev. Caligula, fine—£4 5s. Lot 76. Agrippa, *R*; rev. Augustus—£4 14s. Lot 87. Pescennius Niger; rev. *IUSTITIA AVG.*—£5. Lot 108. Sauromates IV., *N*; rev. Severus—£4. Lot 123. Tigranes. *R*; rev. Antioch seated—£7 5s. Lot 129. Seleucus (?) of Syria, *R*; rev. Asiatic elephant—£5. Lot 149. Panormus, *R*, a palm-tree between four Punic letters; rev. the fore-half of a horse. Very fine—£5 10s. Lot 162. Perseus, *R*; rev. eagle on thunderbolt, fine £4 10s. Lot 167. Smyrna, *R*, turreted head of Cybele-Sipylene; rev. *ΣΜΥΡ-ΝΑΙΟΝ* in two lines—£9 9s. Lot 192. Harold II. penny, usual type, but of the Rochester mint—£6. Lot 201. Elizabeth portecullis shilling—£3 3s. Lot 206. Elizabeth portecullis half-crown—£5 5s. Lot 213. Elizabeth portecullis crown—£7. Lot 223. James VIII. (Old Pretender) pattern crown, 1716—£4 2s. Lot 245. Mary half-angel, fine and of great rarity—£9 9s. Lot 246. Elizabeth Rial, *Snelling* pl. 4 n. 10, the queen standing in a ship—£31. Lot 251. Modena, grand scudo d'oro of Frederick I.; rev. *NON ALIO SIDERE.* Ship—£6 1s.

**ERRATUM.**—P. 156. For "struck at Jalálat ud-din and at Laknautí," read "struck as Jalálat ud-din and at Laknautí."

## XV.

AN ACCOUNT OF SOME ROMAN COINS AND  
MEDALLIONS RECENTLY PURCHASED FOR  
THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, October 18, 1866.]

THE coins and medallions of which a description here follows have been recently purchased for the Cabinet of Coins and Medals. Most of them once formed part of the collection of the late Duke de Blacas, whose sudden death has left a great gap in the small ranks of Numismatic students. It would have been an easy task to have described these pieces without remarks, but the types are generally of so interesting a nature, that I have thought it desirable, as well as instructive, to illustrate them with an historical as well as a numismatic commentary.

## AUGUSTUS.

*Obv.*—IMP. AVGVST. TR. POT. Head of Augustus to the right, bare.

*Rev.*—OB CIVIS SERVATOS. Oak-wreath, surrounded by two circles and a wreath of laurel. (Pl. IX. No. 1.) Æ. I.

Unpublished. Cohen (*Méd. Imp.* No. 267) has published a somewhat similar coin, as "*Autrefois dans le Cabinet de M. Herpin*," describing the reverse as "a crown of laurel surrounded by two circles." The Herpin sale catalogue, however (No. 13), describes the piece as having an *oak-wreath*; and on

a recently acquired specimen in the British Museum, which I believe to be the one formerly in the Herpin collection, there is certainly an *oak-wreath*.

This coin forms part of a coinage issued by Augustus on leaving the East after his second visit there in B.C. 21—19. The actual years in which this coinage was struck may in all probability be assigned to B.C. 19 and 18. The coinage of these two years consisted of gold, silver (*cistophori* and *denarii*), and copper. The gold and silver generally bear reference to 'Armenia.' Besides the two specimens of brass coins with the legend OB CIVIS SERVATOS, there are other pieces with, on the obverse, the legend AVGVST. TR. POT., and on the reverse the letters C. A. These coins, which were at one time attributed to Cæsarea Augusta, in Tarraconensis,<sup>1</sup> but which were with more reason given by Eckhel<sup>2</sup> to Cæsarea Panias, have been now suggested by Mr. de Salis to belong to the Roman series of Augustus, who commenced striking these pieces in the East about B.C. 27. The letters C.A., which are in most cases separated by a dot, doubtless stand for *Cæsar Augustus*. A large brass coin of this series, unpublished by Cohen, has been recently purchased for the Museum. On the obverse, IMP. CAESAR; head of Augustus to the right, bare. On the reverse, AVGVSTVS written within a laurel wreath. This coin is evidently the copper belonging to the silver *cistophori*, with the same legends.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vaillant, *Num. Aer. Imp. in colon*, &c., p. 14, Paris, 1695; Florez, *Medallas de las colonas de España*, vol. i. p. 187, pl. v. 10—13, Madrid, 1757.

<sup>2</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 339.

<sup>3</sup> Pinder, *Ueber die Cistophoren und ueber die Kaiserlichen Silber-medailleurs der Römischen Provinz Asien*, pl. ii. Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12; pl. iii. Nos. 1, 2, 3. Berl., 1856.

## AGRIPPINA I., WIFE OF GERMANICUS.

*Obv.*—AGRIPPINA M. F. MAT. C. CAESARIS  
AVGVSTI. Bust of Agrippina I. to the  
right.

*Rev.*—S. P. Q. R. MEMORIAE AGRIPPINAE.  
*Carpentum*, drawn by two mules, to the left.  
(Pl. IX. No. 2.) Æ. 13½.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.* vol. i. p. 142, note 2).  
From the collection of the late Duke de Blacas.

This piece is not a veritable medallion. It is simply an ordinary large brass coin of Agrippina, struck upon a piece of metal between three and four times the ordinary weight. Several examples exist, especially among the coins of the early Emperors.<sup>4</sup> In all probability these pieces were employed for the military standards, as we know from ancient authors that the portraits of the emperors, generals, and others, were placed on the military ensigns.<sup>5</sup> It does not appear that these sort of medallions were used as military decorations, for the proper kind, called *phalærae*, were composed either of gold, silver, or precious stones.<sup>6</sup>

This piece was struck by Caligula to the memory of his mother. It is only known with the legend AGRIPPINA M. F. MAT. C. CAESARIS AVGVSTI, and not with the legend AGRIPPINA M. F. GERMANICI CAE-

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* vol. i. p. 185, note.

<sup>5</sup> "Quod solæ nullam Sejani imaginem inter signa coluissent." Suet. in *Tib.* 48. "Aquilas et signa Romana, Cæsarumque imagines adoravit." Suet. in *Calig.* 14. "Τὰς Καίσαρος εἰκόνας, αἱ σημαῖαι καλοῦνται." Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 9, 2. An excellent representation of these military ensigns may be seen in Guhl and Koner's *Das Leben der Griechen und Römer*, vol. ii. p. 361. Berl. 1861.

<sup>6</sup> *Dissertation sur les Phalères*, by M. A. de Longpérier. *R. v. Num.* 1848, p. 85, seq.

SARIS, as given by Eckhel.<sup>7</sup> Other large brass coins of Agrippina, with a different type and with the latter legend, were issued by Claudius, but none with the former legend, as also given by Eckhel. Eckhel<sup>8</sup> seems inclined to consider all these coins as issued by Claudius, on account of the letters M. F. *Marci* [Agrippæ] *Filia*, and chiefly because Suetonius has recorded that Caligula did not wish any one to believe him to be, or to call him, nephew of Agrippa, whose birth appeared too low;<sup>9</sup> and secondly, because on the gold coins, which were certainly struck by Caligula, the letters M. F. do not occur. I am, however, of opinion that this statement of Suetonius does not warrant us to assign the coins with the *carpentum* type to the reign of Claudius, for their style agrees with that of the coins of Caligula. Moreover, Claudius would never have issued the legend *Mater C* [aii] *Cæsaris Augusti*, and the style of the coins struck by him is like that of the coins of Antonia. The absence of the M. F. on the gold coins is probably owing to want of space. Caligula might as well have erased the name of Agrippina, which contains in itself all the letters of the name, Agrippa. We shall presently see that he paid great reverence to the ashes of his mother, and that the brass coins issued by him corroborate that which is related by history.

A precisely similar two-wheeled carriage to the one represented on this piece<sup>10</sup> occurs upon the coins of Julia,

<sup>7</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. vi. p. 213.

<sup>8</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. vi. *l. c.* and p. 347.

<sup>9</sup> "Agrippæ se nepotem neque credi, neque dici ob ignobilitatem ejus volebat." Suet. *in Calig.* 23. In any case, Caligula must have expressed these ideas when mad, for he is also here said to have boasted that his mother was incestuously born of Augustus and his daughter Julia.

<sup>10</sup> It is also reproduced upon the contorniates of Agrippina I.

the wife of Augustus, struck by Tiberius;<sup>11</sup> on the coins bearing the name of Domitilla, struck by Titus;<sup>12</sup> on the coins of Julia, daughter of Titus, struck by Domitian;<sup>13</sup> on the coins of Sabina,<sup>14</sup> and on the coins of Faustina I.<sup>15</sup> and II.<sup>16</sup> The correct name of this carriage is involved in some obscurity, for whilst Eckhel describes that on the coins of the Julias and Domitilla to be a *carpentum*,<sup>17</sup> he has designated the similar one on the coins of Agrippina and Sabina by the name of *thensa*.<sup>18</sup>

We, however, learn from Suetonius<sup>19</sup> that Caligula brought back to Rome the ashes of his mother Agrippina, together with those of his brother Nero, from the islands of Pandataria and Pontia,<sup>20</sup> and placed them in a mauso-

(Sabatier, *Méd. Contorn.* pl. xvii. 15; pl. xviii. 1, 2, 3), and upon a rare specimen of Nero in the French collection (Sabatier, *op. cit.* pl. xvii. 16).

<sup>11</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Livia, Nos. 4 and 5.

<sup>12</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* vol. i. p. 339, Nos. 1, 2 and 3. Eckhel (*Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. vi. p. 347) has attempted to prove that these coins belong to Domitilla, *daughter* and not *wife* of Vespasian. The coin (No. 3), however, published by Cohen, certainly belongs to the wife, and so in my opinion do both the others (see the *note* by Cohen, *l. c.*)

<sup>13</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 14 and 15. DIVAE IVLIAE.

<sup>14</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 78. Only published from Vaillant.

<sup>15</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 232, 233.

<sup>16</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 218. A two-wheeled covered carriage, differing from those above alluded to, is upon the coins of Marciana (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 6, 7 and 11), to which I shall presently refer. The supposed similar coins of Julia Domna are in all probability altered specimens of the coins of Julia Augusta (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* vol. iii. p. 351, *note*).

<sup>17</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. vi. pp. 149, 346.

<sup>18</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. vi. pp. 213, 522.

<sup>19</sup> *In Calig.* 15.

<sup>20</sup> These were two islands in the Tyrrhenian Sea, and were frequently used under the Empire as places of exile (Smith,

leum. He also instituted annual funeral ceremonies, and in memory of his mother expressly, gave games in the circus, and a *carpentum*, on which her image was drawn about with great solemnity.<sup>21</sup> Claudius is also recorded to have given a *carpentum* in honour of his mother Antonia.<sup>22</sup>

But the *carpentum* was not necessarily a funeral or commemorative carriage. On some of the coins of Julia, struck *during her lifetime* by Tiberius, in A.D. 22, there is a similar *carpentum* to that on those struck after her death in A.D. 33.<sup>23</sup> We also know that Agrippina II., the wife of Claudius, used to come to the Capitol in a *carpentum*,<sup>24</sup> a fact corroborated by Dion Cassius, who says that it was decreed to her by the Senate.<sup>25</sup> The same permission had likewise been previously granted to Livia and Messalina.<sup>26</sup> The coin of Sabina, if existing,<sup>27</sup> and that

*Dict. of Geog.* s. vv.). Agrippina I. was put to death at Pandataria (Suet. *in Tib.* 53), and Nero at Pontia (Suet. *l. c.* 54), both by order of Tiberius. Julia, daughter of Augustus, died of famine at Pandataria (Tac. *Ann.* i. 53), and Octavia perished there by order of Nero (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 63).

<sup>21</sup> "Et eo amplius matri Circenses, *carpentumque*, quo in pompa traduceretur." *In Calig.* *l. c.* Cf. Dion Cass. lix. 3.

<sup>22</sup> "Matri *carpentum*, quo per Circum duceretur." Suet. *in Claud.* 11.

<sup>23</sup> The legend on the former is S. P. Q. R. IVLIAE AVGVST., on the latter simply IVLIAE AVGVST. (Cohen. *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 4 and 5).

<sup>24</sup> "*Carpeno* Capitolium ingredi." Tac. *Ann.* xii. 42.

<sup>25</sup> "Καὶ ἡ μὲν ταχὺ καὶ αὐτῇ, Μεσσαλίνα ἐγένετο, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι καὶ τιμὰς ἄλλας τε, καὶ τὸ καρπεντίῳ ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι χρῆσθαι, παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἔλαβεν." *lx.* 33.

<sup>26</sup> "Καὶ τῇ Μεσσαλίῃ τὴν προεδρίαν ἦν καὶ ἡ Διοῦα ἐσχέκει, καὶ τὸ καρπέντῳ χρῆσθαι ἔδοσαν." *lx.* 22. "*Currum ejus Messalina uxor carpeno secuta est.*" Suet. *in Claud.* 17.

<sup>27</sup> The obverse legend is SABINA AVGVSTA HA-  
DRIANI AVG. P. P., the reverse simply S. C. (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 78.)

of Faustina II., preserved in the Vienna Museum,<sup>28</sup> seem to have been also issued during the lifetime of these Empresses.

The *carpentum* was generally drawn by mules, and hence was called *carpentum mulare*.<sup>29</sup> Indeed it appears from the coins struck at Rome that mules were always employed in the *carpenta* of women, whilst horses were used for those of men.<sup>30</sup> What in all probability are the *carpenta* of men may be seen on coins of Augustus struck in B.C. 2,<sup>31</sup> and on some of the consecration coins of several of the Emperors, especially on the coins of Augustus,<sup>32</sup> Claudius,<sup>33</sup> and Vespasian.<sup>34</sup> These *carpenta* differ from those on most of the coins of the Empresses: on these latter the covering of the carriage is supported by Caryatides at the four corners; on the former the car

<sup>28</sup> The obverse legend is FAVSTINA AVG. PII. AVG. FIL.; the reverse S. P. Q. R. (Cohen *Méd. Imp.* No. 218; cf. the note, No. 1).

<sup>29</sup> Lamprid. in *Heliogab.* 4. It was also sometimes drawn by horses or oxen (Casaubon, *Annot. ad. l. c.*).

<sup>30</sup> The ΑΙΗΝΗ on the Greek Imperial coins of Ephesus is a carriage with four wheels, drawn by horses (Mionnet, vols. iii. and vi.). It was in early times four-wheeled, τετρακυκλὸς ἀπήνη (Hom. *Il.* xxiv. 324), but was drawn by mules (Hom. *Od.* vi. 73). Eckhel (*Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. ii. p. 517) gives a coin of Ephesus from Vaillant and Mus. Theupoli "with mules," but I do not know if it exists. A two-wheeled mule chariot occurs upon the coins of Rhegium and Messana (Leake, *Num. Hel. Eur. Greece*, p. 139; *Ius. Greece*, p. 63), the type being introduced by Anaxilaus, who won the victory in the mule chariot race at the Olympic games ('Αναξίλας . . . τῷ νομίσματι τῶν Πηγίων ἐνετίπωσεν ἀπήνην καὶ λαγών. Aristot. *Ap. Poll.* v. 75).

<sup>31</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 5—8.

<sup>32</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 77, 78.

<sup>33</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 26, 27.

<sup>34</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 80—82. A magnificent brass medallion of Antoninus Pius (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 450.



resembles a covered box, very similar to the form on the coins of Marciana, where the car, it must be remembered, is drawn by mules.<sup>35</sup> In the description of the collection of *Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*,<sup>36</sup> there is a short account of a bas-relief which formed the front of a sarcophagus. On this is represented a square close two-wheeled carriage, drawn by four horses, in shape very similar to that on the coins of the Emperors above mentioned. The editors of this volume seem to have come to the conclusion that it represents a *thensa*, but I prefer considering it—as the writer of the art. *carpentum* in Smith's *Dict. of Antiquities*—to be a close *carpentum*. It is worthy of remark that a coin of Agrippina I. is said<sup>37</sup> to exist in the Hunter collection at Glasgow, having the Dioscuri on the side panel precisely as on the carriage represented in the bas-relief.

With respect to the *thensæ* or *tensæ*, I am rather of opinion that they are the flat two-wheeled cars, drawn by elephants, on which are seated the figures of the Emperor or Empress,<sup>38</sup> or of different gods. These

pl. xii.), struck during his lifetime, represents the same sort of car. On the front panels are the letters ROM., showing that the car was dedicated to Rome.

<sup>35</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 11; cf. Nos. 6 and 7. With the legend CONSECRATIO.

<sup>36</sup> Part x. p. 122, pl. 48.

<sup>37</sup> *Anc. Marbles in British Museum*, part x. l. c., note 1.

<sup>38</sup> With four elephants, coins of Augustus (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 24, 25, 26), Vespasian (Cohen, Nos. 300, 301), Nero, and Agrippina II. (Cohen, No. 2), &c. With two elephants, coins of Nerva (Cohen, No. 124), Marciana (Cohen, Nos. 8 and 12), &c., (cf. the remarks of Em. Braun, in vol. xi. of the *Annali dell' Istituto*, p. 238 seq. Rome, 1839). Dion Cassius (lxi. 16) calls the car of Augustus, which was copied by Nero for Agrippina, ἀρμάματα, but he probably uses this word as the Latins might employ the term *currus* (cf. Dion Cass. lix. 13; Suet.

*thensæ*, as far as can be learnt from authorities, were cars employed to carry statues at the Circensian games. The most important book on the various carriages of the Greeks and Romans is that by Ginzrot,<sup>39</sup> but his descriptions and minute differences are very puzzling. The late Prof. Ramsay<sup>40</sup> has already stated that Ginzrot "allows his imagination to carry him farther than his authorities warrant."

The word MEMORIAE, which only occurs upon the coins of Agrippina I. and Domitilla, according to Eckhel,<sup>41</sup> was not a direct mark of consecration, but only a sign of affection and honour towards the deceased. The inscription MEMORIAE AETERNAE, which is found on the coins of Claudius Gothicus,<sup>42</sup> Maximian Hercules,<sup>43</sup> Constantius Chlorus,<sup>44</sup> and Romulus,<sup>45</sup> was on the other hand a formula of consecration.

#### DOMITIANUS.

Obv.—IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. TR.  
POT. V̄. (The T. and V. joined, N̄). Bust  
of Domitian to the right, laureated, with the  
*ægis*.

*in Claud. 11*). Certainly the car on the coins above mentioned is not an ἀρμάμαξα. Cars drawn by elephants or horses were often employed at triumphs or in consular processions (Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. viii. p. 337).

<sup>39</sup> *Die Wagen und Fahrwerke der Griechen und Römer*. 2 vols. 4to. Munich, 1815.

<sup>40</sup> Smith's *Dict. of Antiquities*, s. v. *Thensa*.

<sup>41</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. viii. p. 465.

<sup>42</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 131—134.

<sup>43</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 323—325.

<sup>44</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 188—191. Also MEM. and MEMORIA (Nos. 178—181), and MEMORIA FELIX (Nos. 182—187).

<sup>45</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 1—11.

*Rev.*—IMP. VIIII. COS. XI. (double struck.) CENS.  
 POT. P. P. Minerva seated to the left, helmeted, with an *ægis* on the breast of the cuirass, holding a Victory and a double-pointed spear, her feet resting on a footstool. The left arm rests upon a round shield, on which are represented two tetrastyle temples, and four figures in front of them. The shield is supported by a captive, who is seated in a vessel to the left. (Pl. IX. No. 3.) Æ. 10.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.* No. 4, pl. xviii.).

This magnificent silver medallion was discovered in the neighbourhood of Rome in the year 1826, and came into the possession of the Cav. Artaud. This gentleman lent it to Dr. Alessandro Visconti, who in the year 1826 wrote an excellent paper upon it, which was published in 1829.<sup>46</sup> In the year 1843 it appears to have been in the hands of M. Revil, of Paris,<sup>47</sup> and then to have passed into the cabinet of the late M. Dupré.<sup>48</sup> The late Duke de Blacas became its next owner, and from his collection it has been purchased for the Dept. of Coins and Medals, British Museum.

The date of its issue is clearly fixed. The TR. P. V. COS. XI. IMP. VIIII. first occurs upon the coins of

<sup>46</sup> *Dissertazioni dell'Accademia Romana d'Archeologia*, vol. iii. p. 203. Rome, 1829. An engraving is here given of it, and it is curious that the artist has omitted to represent the *ægis* on the bust of Domitian, though in the text the medallion is described as having it.

<sup>47</sup> *Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique*, p. 43; pl. xxiv. No. 2. Paris, 1843.

<sup>48</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 4. Another unique silver medallion is described by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.* No. 6) as having belonged *autrefois* à M. Dupré. The type represents Minerva standing on a vessel, and it is very similar to the fine gold medallion which was stolen from the *Cabinet des Médailles* in 1831 (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 5; *Trésor de Num. et de Glypt.* p. 43; pl. xxiv. No. 1).

Domitian in A.D. 85. The eleventh consulship did not extend to the year 86. It will also be observed that the medallion bears the titles of "Germanicus" and "Censor." Both these titles occur first on the coins in A.D. 84, with his eleventh consulship.<sup>49</sup> Domitian assumed the former after his war against the Catti, and is said to have celebrated a triumph, for which he is satirised by Tacitus,<sup>50</sup> whilst according to Dion Cassius, he did not even see an enemy.<sup>51</sup> This title, however, occurs upon all his subsequent coins, as well as the legend GERMANIA CAPTA, with appropriate types of the defeated country.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup> M. Cohen (vol. i. p. 400, *note*) has called attention to the following fact:—"The Cabinet of Coins at Paris possesses a plated coin with the legend IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. V. (*sic*), and on the reverse IMP. VIII. COS. X. CENS. POT. P.P. Though I believe that this is the same piece that Morell has given with the date IMP. VII., as this last coin is not in the Cabinet of Coins, if the forger has not put in error COS. X. instead of COS. XI., this would be the only example known of the title of Censor given to Domitian during his *tenth* consulship. See Eckhel, vol. vi. p. 379."

<sup>50</sup> "Inerat conscientia, derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emptis per commercia, quorum habitus et crines in captivorum speciem formarentur." *Vit. Agric.* 39. See for similar sneers at Caligula for his pretended invasion of Britain, Tac. *Agric.* 13; *Hist.* iv. 15; Suet. *in Calig.* 47. Cf. "triumphati magis quam victi." Tac. *Germ.* 37.

<sup>51</sup> "Ἐκστρατεύσας δὲ εἰς τὴν Γερμανίαν καὶ μὴδ' ἑωρακώς πον πόλεμον, ἐπανῆκε." lxxvii. 4. He also called the month September, *Germanicus* (Suet. *in Dom.* 13; Macrobian. *Sat.* 1).

<sup>52</sup> Merivale (*Hist. of the Rom. under the Empire*, vol. vii. p. 93, *note*) expresses a doubt of there being any triumph at all at this time, adding that Eusebius (*ann.* 91) records only one triumph, "Domitianus de Dacis et Germanis triumphavit;" and that therefore Suetonius, who says in one place (*in Domit.* 6) "de Chattis Dacisque duplicem triumpham egit," and in another (*in Domit.* 13), "post duos triumphos Germanici nomine assumpto," must be in any case in the latter assertion in error, as we know from coins that this title first appears in A.D. 84. Tacitus would appear to have been misled by its assumption after the campaign of 84.

Several of the poets always spoke of Domitian as *Germanicus*; and Martial, who was most fulsome in his praise of this Emperor, says:—<sup>53</sup>

“Nobilis domito tribuit Germania Rheno,  
Et puer hoc dignus nomine Cæsar eras.”

This, as Eckhel has observed,<sup>54</sup> was only pure adulation, and intended to hint that Domitian was worthy of the title, when as a youth he accompanied Mucianus against the Dacians.

The latter title of *Censor* he assumed for life;<sup>55</sup> and

<sup>53</sup> Lib. ii. *Epig.* 2. The surname of *Dacicus* does not occur upon the coins of Domitian, though Martial dedicates his eighth book to “Imp. Domitiano Cos. Aug. Germ. *Dacico*.” Trajan received both the titles of *Germanicus* and *Dacicus*, and both occur on his coins.

<sup>54</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. vi. p. 398.

<sup>55</sup> Τιμητής δὲ διὰ βίου. Dion Cass. lxxvii. 4; cf. liii. 18. Dion in the first quoted passage adds, πρῶτος δὴ καὶ μόνος καὶ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ αυτοκρατόρων ἐχειροτονήθη. In this he must be mistaken, for J. Cæsar was appointed by the Senate *præfectus morum* for three years (τῶν τε τρόπων τῶν ἐκάστον ἐπιστάτην, Dion Cass. xliii. 14; Suet. in *Cæs.* 76), though he is later called *censor* (τιμητής, Dion Cass. xliii. 25), and was *censor for life* (τιμητής διὰ βίου, Dion Cass. xlv. 5) in B.C. 44. Augustus refused to be *censor perpetuus*, creating other censors after the old custom (Dion Cass. liv. 2; cf. lv. 13), but accepted in B.C. 19 the title of *præfectus morum* (ἐπιμελητής τῶν τρόπων, Dion Cass. liv. 10; cf. Suet. in *Aug.* 27; Hor. lib. ii. 1). He, however, held a census three times (Suet. in *Aug.* 27), the first in B.C. 28 with Agrippa (*Mon. Ancy.*, ed. Mommsen, p. 21. Berl. 1865; Dion Cass. liii. 1; cf. Dion Cass. lii. 42, where the date is given as B.C. 29); the second in B.C. 8 alone (*solus*, Suet. in *Aug.* 27; *Mon. Ancy.* op. cit. p. 23; Dion Cass. liv. 35, says the second was in B.C. 11); and the third in A.D. 14 with Tiberius (Suet. in *Aug.* 27 and 97; in *Tib.* 21; *Mon. Ancy.* op. cit. p. 24; Dion Cass. lv. 13, assigns the third to A.D. 4). In other passages of Dion Cassius, Augustus is spoken of as τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ μὲν τῶν τιμητῶν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον . . . ἔλαβεν in B.C. 19 (liv. 10, the same year as he accepted the title of *præfectus morum*, see above); and τιμητεύων (liv. 16) in B.C. 18,

*Censor* occurs upon his coins of the eleventh consulship, and *Censor perpetuus* on coins of the same and all following consulships. Martial<sup>56</sup> hails him as

“ *Censor maxime, principumque princeps.*”

It was not an unfrequent custom for the Roman emperors to worship one peculiar deity more than another. Augustus revered Apollo; Commodus, Hercules; and Elagabalus, the Sun; and these deities were frequently represented on their coins. Minerva, as we shall presently show, was the deity revered by Domitian. The Romans, as I have pointed out in a previous paper,<sup>57</sup> seem to have recognised the goddess Minerva as second to Jupiter, placing Juno third. This preference for Minerva

whilst Dion speaks differently in liii. 17 and 18. [The passages in Dion are much confused, and require longer study than I can afford to give them in this note.] Tiberius thought the censorship unfit for his time (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 33). Lucius Vitellius, father of the Emperor Aulus Vitellius was *censor* with Claudius (Suet. *in Claud.* 16; *in Vit.* 2; Tac. *Ann.* xi. 13, xii. 4; Dion Cass. lx. 29; coins of A. Vit., Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 26, 27, 72; coins of L. Vit., Nos. 1, 2, and *note*). Vespasian and Titus accepted the censorship (Suet. *in Vesp.* 8; *in Tit.* 6; on coins CEN. or CENS.) Trajan did not take the censorship, but is appealed to by Pliny, jun. (*Paneg.* xlv.), “*Nam vita Principis Censura est, eaque perpetua;*” whilst Hadrian is only called *censor* by Appuleius (*Apolog.* p. 410, ed. Oudendorp). Alex. Severus took the censorship *de propriis moribus* (Lamprid. *in Alex. Sev.* 41), and Trajan Decius appointed Valerian I. as *censor*, but the former dying saved the latter an arduous duty (Treb. Poll. *in Valer.*) Diocletian gave games, presiding in the character of *censor* (Vopisc. *in Car.* 20). Julian the Apostate is called by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxv. 4) *censor moribus regendis acerrimus*; and the proposed revival of the censorship under Theodosius met with no success (Casaub. *Annot. ad Valer.* 1).

<sup>56</sup> Lib. vi. *Epig.* 4. Juvenal (*Sat.* iv. 12) calls him *Judex morum*.

<sup>57</sup> *Num. Chron.* N.S. vol. v. p. 103.

dates from the year B.C. 393.<sup>58</sup> Horace<sup>59</sup> places her next to Jupiter; whilst the coins of Vespasian,<sup>60</sup> Titus,<sup>61</sup> and Domitian,<sup>62</sup> representing the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, give the place of honour on the right hand of Jupiter to Minerva.<sup>63</sup>

To return to Domitian. This Emperor indeed honoured Minerva above all the other deities,<sup>64</sup> and instituted a five-days' festival to be held yearly at his Alban villa, where there were represented plays, competitions, and hunts, between poets, orators, and gladiators.<sup>65</sup> His coins abound

<sup>58</sup> "Fixus [clavus] dextero lateri ædis Jovis Optimi Maximi, ex qua parte Minervæ templum est." Liv. vii. 3. Livy, however, in another place (vi. 4), speaking of the triumph of Camillus, in B.C. 367, says that the statue of Juno was in the same cella as that of Jupiter.

<sup>59</sup> "Proximos illi [Jovi] tamen occupavit Pallas honores."—*Carm.* I., od. 12.

<sup>60</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 403—410.

<sup>61</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 269—272.

<sup>62</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 466. The capitoline temple, which was burnt by the Vitellians (Dion Cass. lxxv. 17), was recommenced by Vespasian (Dion Cass. lxxvi. 10; Suet. *in Vesp.* 8). It was again burnt under Titus in A.D. 80, with its *συννάοι*, as Dion (lxxvi. 24) calls the small side temples of Minerva and Juno. Domitian again restored it in A.D. 82, with great magnificence (Suet. *in Dom.* 5; Plut. *Poplic.* 15; Victor *in Cæs.* 11, etc.), and a figure of it occurs upon some of his silver coins struck in Asia, with the legend CAPIT. REST. (Cohen, No. 1.) This temple, instead of being here represented with six columns, has only four. But in all probability, as Eckhel (*Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. vi. p. 377) has already suggested, the moneyer did not make a faithful drawing of it. (Cf. Pinder, *Ueber die Cistophoren*, etc., pl. vi. No. 7).

<sup>63</sup> Among the Greeks the order was different. "Τὸ μὲν ἐν θρόνῳ τοῦ Διὸς, ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ ἡ μὲν [Ἥρα] κατὰ δεξιὰ, ἡ δὲ ἀριστερὰ παρεστῶσα Ἀθηνᾶ πεποιήται." Paus. x. 5, 1.

<sup>64</sup> "Minervam, quam superstitiose colebat." Suet. *in Dom.* 15. "θεὸν μὲν γὰρ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἡγάλλε . . . . κατ' ἔτος." Dion Cass. lxxvii. 1.

<sup>65</sup> "Celebrabat et in Albano quotannis Quinquatria Minervæ,"

with the types and attributes of this goddess. Either the goddess herself, or the helmet, or the goat, recalling the origin of the *ægis*—to which we shall presently allude—are represented on the coins. A short time previous to his death, Domitian is said to have dreamt that Minerva left his domestic chapel, saying that she was no longer able to defend him, as she had been disarmed by Jupiter.<sup>66</sup> Dion adds that Minerva having thrown down her arms, Domitian saw her descend into a vast abyss, drawn in a chariot with black horses.<sup>67</sup> Besides this infatuation, Domitian gave out that he was the son of Minerva, and insisted on having added to the prayers of the public sacrifices that "Domitian was the son of Pallas." Philostratus, in his life of Apollonius Tyaneus, records that while Apollonius was in prison he observed among the prisoners a person of Tarentum, who had been incarcerated for not, when sacrificing, adding to the public prayers that Domitian was the son of Pallas. "But," said Apollonius, "did you think that Pallas had never conceived and brought forth? Although every one calls her a virgin, I think you must have forgotten

etc. Suet. *in Dom.* 4. "Καὶ τὰ Παναθήναια μεγάλως ἐώρταξε," etc. Dion Cass. lxxvii. 1. The note of Baumgarten Crusius to this passage is interesting: "Scilicet cum Græci Παναθήναια μεγάλα quinto quoque anno, μικρά quotannis celebrarent. Xiphilinus majorem Domitiani splendorem fuisse ostendit, quum quotannis fere (κατ' ἔτος, ὡς εἰπεῖν) majorum magnificentiam exhiberet (μεγάλως ἐώρταξε). Nam vere quotannis celebrare potuit illud festum, sed non eodem semper sumtu, ut cum magnis Panathenæis comparari posset."

<sup>66</sup> "Somniavit excedere sacrario, negantem ultra se tueri eum posse, quod exarmata esset à Jove." Suet. *in Dom.* 15.

<sup>67</sup> "Καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν . . . τὰ ὅπλα ἀποβεβληκέναι, καὶ ἐπὶ ἄρματος ἱππων μελάνων ἐς χάσμα ἐσπίπτειν ἔδοξεν." lxxvii. 16.



that goddess one day presented the Athenians with a dragon."<sup>68</sup>

From Domitian proclaiming that he was the son of a goddess, it is not surprising to find that he gave himself out to be a "god." "The recognition of his father and brother as divinities, already cordially accepted, made it scarcely possible to distinguish the nature of the dead and the living members of the same celestial house. No other Emperor had succeeded to an actual father and brother; no other Emperor, except Titus himself, had even descended directly from a deified ancestor."<sup>69</sup> When he took back his divorced wife, he did not take her to his pillow, but to his *sacred cushion*.<sup>70</sup> In the amphitheatre they were hailed as *Dominus et Domina*; and when his procurators used to write from his dictation, he always began, *Dominus et Deus noster hoc fieri jubet*.<sup>71</sup> Martial,

<sup>68</sup> "Ἐτέρου δ' αὖ φήσαντος γραφὴν φεύγειν, ἐπειδὴ θύων ἐν Τάραντι, οὗ ἦρχε, μὴ προσέθηκε ταῖς δημοσίαις εὐχαῖς, ὅτι Δομετιανὸς Ἀθηνᾶς εἴη παῖς." "σὺ μὲν ᾤήθης," ἔφη, "μὴ ἂν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τεκεῖν παρθένον οὖσαν τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον, ἡγνώεις δ' οἶμαι, ὅτι ἡ θεὸς αὕτη Ἀθηναίους ποτὲ δράκοντα ἔτεκε." Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* vii. 24. On account of his devotion to Minerva, Domitian requested to be made archon ἐπὶ ὤνυμος of Athens (Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* viii. 16). Hadrian, who greatly improved Athens with magnificent buildings, was also archon (Spart. in *Hadr.* 19; Dion Cass. lxi. 16). Gallienus also was made archon (Treb. Poll. in *Gall. duos.* 11). Plutarch is also said to have been archon ἐπὶ ὤνυμος (Plut. *Sympos.* ii. 10; vi. 8).

<sup>69</sup> Plin. *Paneg.* 11. "Vespasianum Titus, Titum Domitianus (dicavit cœlo); sed ille ut Dei filius, hic ut frater videatur." Merivale, *Hist. of the Rom. under the Empire*, vol. vii. p. 144.

<sup>70</sup> "Revocatam eam in pulvinar suum." Suet. in *Dom.* 13; cf. Suet. in *Cæs.* 76; in *Aug.* 45; in *Claud.* 4.

<sup>71</sup> Suet. in *Dom.* 13; Δεσπότην τε καὶ θεόν. Dion Cass. lxxvii. 13. Augustus was horrified at the title of Lord (Suet. in *Aug.* 23; Dion Cass. lv. 12), though on coins of Pergamus he is called ΘΕΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ (Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. ii.

in his usual strain, hails him on his return from Germany—

“Nunc hilares, si quando mihi, nunc ludite Musæ,  
Victor ab Othrysiō redditur orbe *Deus* ;”<sup>72</sup>

and even his poems are described as heavenly—*cælestia carmina belli*.<sup>73</sup>

Yet, though Domitian styled himself a “god” whilst

p. 465). Tiberius would not accept it (Suet. *in Tib.* 27; Dion Cass. lvi. 8; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 87). Caligula, in his madness, assumed it, exclaiming, according to Suetonius (*in Calig.* 22), Εἰς κοῖρανός ἐστω, εἰς βασιλεύς (see Hom. *Il.* ii. 204). He is called μοναρχικώτατος by Dion (lix. 3). By Philo (*Leg. ad. Cai.* 44, 45) he is called Δεσποτῆς and Κύριος, and to complete his disgraceful conduct nearly assumed the diadem (Suet. *in Calig.* 22). The infamous Nero called the youth Sporus κυρία καὶ βασιλὶς καὶ δέσποινα (Dion Cass. lxiii. 13). Trajan is ΘΕΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ on coins of Pergamus (Eckhel, *l.c.*). Elagabalus was hailed as κύριος, but, alluding to Nero, requested in satire to be called κυρία (Dion Cass. lxxix. 16). Alexander Severus refused the title of *dominus* (Lamprid. *in Alex. Sev.* 4). Aurelian styled himself on his coins DEO ET DOMINO NATO (Cohen, No. 170), and SOL DOMINVS IMPERI ROMANI (Cohen, No. 39). Carus issued coins with DEO ET DOMINO (Cohen, No. 14). The formula D.N. (*Dominus noster*) on coins is introduced in the place of IMP. under Diocletian, whilst βασιλεύς and Δέσποτης appear first on coins under the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus (A.D. 802). [For a notice of some Greek imperial and colonial coins with the titles of κύριος and *dominus* see Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. viii. p. 365]. It may be as well to notice that the death of Herod Agrippa I. by worms (σκωληκόβρωτος, Acts xii. 23) was caused because he was hailed by the populace as a *god* (Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 8, 2). Antiochus Epiphanes also died of the same complaint, and in his agony exclaimed, “It is meet to be subject unto God, and that a man that is mortal should not proudly think of himself, as if he were a *god*” (2 Maccab. ix. 12). He is called ΘΕΟΣ on his coins, as also are others of the kings of Syria and Egypt. Herod the Great, Sulla, and Galerius Maximian are said to have died of the same loathsome disease.

<sup>72</sup> Lib. vii. *Epig.* 7.

<sup>73</sup> Lib. v. *Epig.* 5.

alive<sup>74</sup> he was not deified when dead. The people took his death indifferently; the soldiery attempted to call him *dirus*;<sup>75</sup> and the Senate, disgusted with his many cruelties, melted all his busts and statues—many of which were composed of gold or silver<sup>76</sup>—and pulled down the numerous arches that he had constructed at an enormous expense.<sup>77</sup> Many inscriptions are given by Gruter on which the name of Domitian has been erased.<sup>78</sup>

Besides the abundant coinage of Domitian recording his superstitious devotion for Minerva, there are records

<sup>74</sup> And yet this self-assumed god was not above amusing himself by running pins through flies! When it was asked if any one was with Cæsar, Vibius Crispus replied, *not even a fly!* (Suet. *in Dom.* 3; Dion Cass. lxvi. 9, etc.)

<sup>75</sup> Notwithstanding that history makes no mention of the deification of Domitian, there exists a *consecratio* coin of pure silver (Cohen, No. 21). M. Cohen thinks that from the resemblance of the eagle with that on a coin of Marciana, struck under Trajan, the moneyer has confused together a head of Domitian with a reverse of Marciana.

<sup>76</sup> Suetonius (*in Dom.* 13) says that Domitian would not allow any statues of himself to be placed in the Capitol except they were composed of gold or silver, and of a certain weight (*ponderis certi*; cf. Lips. *Magn. Rom.* iii. 9, who proposes to read *centeni*). Dion (lxvii. 8) records that all countries under his rule had his busts or statues of gold and silver. (See Eutrop. vii 15, 3, and Plin. *Paneg.* 52, 3.) There were, however, doubtless statues of *bronze* beyond the Capitol. For example, the colossal equestrian statue of Domitian, erected on the forum, near the *Lacus Curtius*, was of bronze (Stat. *Silv.* i. 1). This statue was, according to Procopius (*Hist. Arcan.* viii. 5, ed. Isambert. Paris, 1856), made after the death of Domitian from his remains before buried, at the request of Domitia, and by permission of the Senate. It appears to have been extant at the time of Justinian.

<sup>77</sup> Suet. *in Dom.* 23; Dion Cass. lxviii. 1. Domitian had erected so many double arches (*Janos*) and triumphal arches about the city, that some one at last wrote upon one of them *APKEI, Enough* (Suet. *in Dom.* 13).

<sup>78</sup> xii. 2; lxviii. 1; clxxx. 7; ccxlv. 2.

of several temples erected by him to this deity. A temple of a *Minerva Chalcidica* is said to have been among the buildings built by him.<sup>79</sup> This temple has been supposed by Bunsen to be the same as the *Atrium Minervæ* mentioned in the *Notitia* as being in the 8th region, and both to be the same as the *Athenæum* mentioned by Dion Cassius. The *Monumentum Ancyranum* of Augustus, however, notices an *Ædes Minervæ* built by Augustus, but separates it from the *Chalcidicum* at the distance of five lines, and they are also given separately by Dion Cassius.<sup>80</sup> The existence of a temple of Minerva, which Domitian is said by some authorities<sup>81</sup> to have erected on the *Forum* between those of Vesta and Castor, is denied, as there appears to have been no room for it.<sup>82</sup> In the *Forum* of Nerva, commenced by Domitian, this Emperor founded an *Ædes Minervæ*,<sup>83</sup> and the *Forum* itself was afterwards called *Forum Palladium*.<sup>84</sup>

We may now pass on to notice the *ægis*, which, it will be seen, is both on the bust of Domitian and on the breast of the figure of Minerva. The *ægis*, according to some traditions, was the goat conquered by the prudence<sup>85</sup> and

<sup>79</sup> Hieronym. *Chron.*, ed Mai, vol. viii. p. 602.

<sup>80</sup> Τὸ δὲ Ἀθήναιον καὶ το Χάλκιδικόν. li. 22. For this question see E. H. Bunbury, *Classical Museum*, vol. iv. p. 20; T. H. Dyer, in Smith's *Dict. of Geog.*, s. v. *Roma*, pp. 789, 791.

<sup>81</sup> Becker, *Handb.*, p. 356.

<sup>82</sup> Smith's *Dict. of Geog.*, s. v. *Roma*, p. 795.

<sup>83</sup> *Vict. in Cæs.* 12; *Suet. in Dom.* 5.

<sup>84</sup> Martial, i. *Epig.* 2, 8.

<sup>85</sup> Minerva is called *sapientissima dea* by Cicero (*Orat. pro Milone*, iii. 8). Coins of Constantine I. and Licinius I., with allusions to, and attributes of, Minerva, and with the word SAPIENTIA on them, are in existence (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, Const. I., Nos. 92, 450; Licin. I., Nos. 24, 130). I take this opportunity of pointing out that the coin of Licinius I. with

valour of Pallas. Its skin she took for her breast, both as a protection for her body and a defence against other dangers, as a lasting monument of her well-earned valour and glory.<sup>56</sup> In ancient mythology the *ægis* worn by Zeus was the hide of the goat Amaltheia, which had suckled him in his infancy.<sup>57</sup> Zeus is consequently distinguished by Homer in several passages as *αἰγίοχος*, though the *ægis* was frequently borrowed both by Apollo and Athena. It is certainly remarkable that, though the *ægis* properly belongs to Zeus, it is seldom found in works of art representing this god. The museum at Leyden, however, possesses a marble statue of Zeus, found at Utica, and a cameo is represented in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*.<sup>58</sup> To these two specimens quoted in Smith may be added the splendid cameo with the bust of Ζεὺς αἰγίοχος, published by Ennio Quirino Visconti.<sup>59</sup> The Gorgon's head, or head of Medusa, was added to the *ægis* by Minerva, who received it from Perseus, the son of Jupiter and Danæ.<sup>60</sup> In Virgil,<sup>61</sup> the description of the *ægis* gives rather the idea of a breast-plate.<sup>62</sup> The remarks of Servius on this passage are extremely interesting. He says:—"The *ægis* is properly a

this legend, published by me from the Wigan collection (*Num. Chron.* N.S., vol. v. p. 102), is not a *quinarius*, but a *solidus*, weighing 70 grains.

<sup>56</sup> Diod. Sic. iii. 70, 5.

<sup>57</sup> Smith, *Dict. of Antiq.*, s. v. *ægis*.

<sup>58</sup> s. v. *ægis*.

<sup>59</sup> *Opere Varie*. vol. i. p. 191, pl. xvi. Milan, 1827.

<sup>60</sup> Smith's *Dict. of Biog.*, s. vv. *Gorgon* and *Perseus*.

<sup>61</sup> *Æn.* viii. 435.

<sup>62</sup> The form of the *ægis* on the breast of Minerva on this coin answers to this description. A similar mode occurs on several of her statues (Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, vol. iii. pl. 457, No. 845; pl. 458, Nos. 851A, 901; pl. 459, No. 850, etc.; esp. pl. 461, No. 859; pl. 462, No. 862; pl. 467, No. 879; pl. 471, No. 898).

bronze breast-plate, having in the middle a Gorgon's head ; which breast-plate, if occurring on the breast of a deity, is called *ægis* ; if on the breast of a man, as on many of the ancient statues of the Emperors, is called *lorica*."<sup>93</sup> The flattering Martial thus addresses Domitian :—

“ Accipe belligeræ crudum thoraca Minervæ  
Ipsa Medusæ quem timet ira Deæ.  
Dum vacat hæc, Cæsar, poterit *lorica* vocari,  
Pectore cum sacro sederit, *ægis* erit.”<sup>94</sup>

And in another passage<sup>95</sup> compliments Domitian for having the *ægis*, whilst it is absent from the breast of Minerva :—

“ Dic mihi, Virgo ferox, cum tibi sit cassis et hasta  
Quare non habeas *ægida* ? Cæsar habet.”

Before concluding our observations on the representation of Minerva on this medallion, we must not fail to remark the figure of Victory held in the right hand of the goddess. Not only was *Níkē* said to be a child of Pallas and Styx, and also a surname of Athena,<sup>96</sup> but the famous chryselephantine statue of the Parthenon—the greatest of the works of Pheidias—represents her holding a Victory four cubits in height.<sup>97</sup> Many copies of this statue exist,<sup>98</sup> and

<sup>93</sup> “ *Ægis* proprie est munimentum æreum habens in medio Gorgonis caput, quod munimentum si in pectore numinis fecerit, *ægis* vocatur, si in pectore hominis, sicut in antiquis imperatorum statuīs videmus, *lorica* dicitur.” Serv. ad Virg., *Æn.* viii. 435. There is a statue of Hadrian in the British Museum with the *lorica* (*Anc. Marbles in British Museum*, part xi. p. 84, pl. 45).

<sup>94</sup> Lib. vii. *Epig.* 1.

<sup>95</sup> Lib. xiv. *Epig.* 179. The *ægis* is frequently represented on coins on the bust of the Emperors.

<sup>96</sup> Smith, *Dict. of Biog.*, s. v. *Nice*.

<sup>97</sup> For an account of this statue, and other works of Pheidias, see Smith, *Dict. of Biog.*, s. v. *Pheidias* ; Edw. Falkener, *Dædalus*. Lond. 1860.

<sup>98</sup> Müller, *Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pl. xix. No. 202.

representations may be seen of it on the coins of the kings of Syria.<sup>99</sup>

Having now fully discussed Domitian's connection with Minerva, we may next pass on to some other remarkable features of the reverse. There is the shield, on which are represented two temples and some figures, a male figure supporting it, and the ship on which the figure is seated.

The figure supporting the shield has been supposed by Dr. Alessandro Visconti<sup>100</sup> to be a Jewish slave,<sup>101</sup> and to allude to the celebrated victory of Vespasian and Titus over the Jews. Certainly the general form of the figure and of his dress has an oriental aspect, and I see no reason to disagree with the learned doctor. The successful termination of the Jewish war was the great glory of the Flavian race, notwithstanding that neither Vespasian nor Titus would take the name of *Judaicus*, out of contempt for the Jewish nation.<sup>102</sup> The magnificence of the triumph is fully recorded by Josephus,<sup>103</sup> and the representations "exhibited what had been done, to such as did not see the war, as if they had been there really present." After the spoils taken from the Temple, came Vespasian and Titus, and with them rode Domitian on a horse worthy of admiration.<sup>104</sup> Moreover, what is still

<sup>99</sup> Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 230. It also occurs on coins of Athens, Sardis, Rhegium, etc.

<sup>100</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 220.

<sup>101</sup> M. Cohen (*Méd. Imp.* vol. i. p. 388) has supposed the figure to be that of a German slave weeping.

<sup>102</sup> "Τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν οὐδ' ἕτερος ἔσχε." Dion Cass. lxxvi. 8. Pompey also, after taking Jerusalem, would not, for the same reason, be called *Hierosolymarius* (Cic. *ad Attic.* ii).

<sup>103</sup> *Bell. Jud.* vii. 5, 5.

<sup>104</sup> "Καὶ τὸν ἵππον παρέχων θίας ἄξιον." Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* l.c. "Ac triumphans utriusque Judaicum equo albo comitatus est." Suet. *in Dom.* 2.

more to the purpose, as there is a ship upon this coin, Josephus states that at one part of the procession there "followed a great number of ships."<sup>105</sup> Vespasian and his sons were not only content with issuing coins commemorative of the captured country, IVDAEA CAPTA or DEVICTA,<sup>106</sup> but also recorded a VICTORIA NAVALIS, described in one case on a second brass coin of Titus as IVDAEA NAVALIS.<sup>107</sup> On the coins of Domitian, who took no part in the Jewish war, but who did not hesitate to appropriate to himself the victory,<sup>108</sup> may also be found the legends IVDAEA CAPTA<sup>109</sup> and VICTORIA NAVALIS,<sup>110</sup> issued while he was Cæsar, in A.D. 73. He appears to have kept up an allusion to this naval victory almost to the year of his death. On the coins of the year A.D. 82, his tutelary deity Minerva may be seen standing on a ship, holding a shield and about to throw a javelin;<sup>111</sup> and the same type occurs

<sup>105</sup> "Πολλὰι δὲ καὶ νῆες εἴποντο." Joseph. *Bell. Jud. l.c.*

<sup>106</sup> Madden, *Hist. of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 183—197.

<sup>107</sup> Madden, *op. cit.* p. 192. A short description, from the pen of M. Dumersan, of this naval victory on the Lake of Gennesareth will here be found, and a full account in Josephus, who says that there perished six thousand five hundred persons (*Bell. Jud. iii. 10, 5*).

<sup>108</sup> Domitian enforced the Jews, who had been ordered by Vespasian to pay to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus the sum of two drachms (Joseph. *Bell. Jud. vii. 6. 6*; Dion Cass. lxi. 7), to pay the tribute (*Judaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est*. Suet. *in Dom. 12*). Nerva remitted the tax, as appears from his coins with the legend FISCO IVDAICI CALVMNIA SVBLATA. The tax in the time of Bar-cohab called *ὁ φόρος τῶν σωμάτων* was very heavy (Appian. *Syr. 50*), and in the time of Alexander Severus the Jews still continued to pay the didrachm (Madden, *op. cit.* pp. 198, 238).

<sup>109</sup> Madden, *op. cit.* p. 197. A coin of Domitian, struck in Samaria, with the type of the palm (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 354), also alludes to the captured country.

<sup>110</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 552.

<sup>111</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 260.



from the year A.D. 84 to A.D. 95.<sup>112</sup> This naval victory was of such importance that it was not thought unworthy of commemoration by the Greeks at a later period. Eckhel<sup>113</sup> has noted the fact from a coin of Marcus Aurelius, struck at Gadara, with the legend ΝΑΥΜΑ. ΓΑΔΑΡΕΩΝ, and the type a Trireme,<sup>114</sup> from which it may be assumed that *naumachia* were celebrated under this Emperor on the lake of Gennesareth.<sup>115</sup> The real *naumachia* were first introduced by Julius Cæsar<sup>116</sup> in B.C. 46, and were given at various periods by subsequent Emperors, notably Augustus, Claudius, Nero, and Titus. They were generally held in the amphitheatre, in the *Campus Martius*, the *Circus Maximus*, and the *Colosseum*. Domitian gave a *naumachia* in A.D. 91 in a new place,<sup>117</sup> which we learn from Suetonius was a lake near the Tiber.<sup>118</sup> Here he built a permanent place of stone, and the fights were on a grand scale, the number of ships employed being nearly equal to two real fleets (*pæne justarum classium*).

The large round shield, on which we may next make

<sup>112</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 190, 198, 64, 143—169.

<sup>113</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 348; vol. iv. p. 445; vol. vi. p. 330.

<sup>114</sup> Mionnet, *Descrip. des Méd.* vol. v. p. 326, No. 38.

<sup>115</sup> Gadara was situated near the river Hieromax, east of the Sea of Galilee, over against Scythopolis and Tiberias, and sixteen Roman miles distant from each of those places (Smith, *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. *Gadara*; cf. s. v. *Gennesaret, Sea of*).

<sup>116</sup> Suet. *in Cæs.* 39; Dion Cass. xliii. 23. An interesting note on the *naumachia* of several of the Emperors is collected together by Mr. Edw. Falkener, in the *Museum of Classical Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 195, *seq.*

<sup>117</sup> “Ἐν καινῷ τινὶ χωρίῳ ναυμαχίαν ἐπέτελεσε.” Dion Cass. lxxvii. 8.

<sup>118</sup> “Edidit navales pugnas pæne justarum classium, effusso et circumstructo juxta Tiberim lacu.” Suet. *in Dom.* 4; cf. 5.

a few observations, called by Virgil *Argolicus clipeus*,<sup>119</sup> was one of the objects sacred to Minerva. Another representation of it may be seen on some coins given by Pellerin,<sup>120</sup> and attributed by Eckhel<sup>121</sup> to Selge, in Pisidia, on which the head of Pallas is on the obverse, whilst on the shield there are the letters Π Ο in monogram (ΠΟ). These letters, in consequence of the occurrence of the head of Pallas, together with the shield, Eckhel<sup>122</sup> considers to signify Παλλάδος Ὀπλον, "the shield of Minerva,"<sup>123</sup> as it is well known that ὄπλον was the word frequently employed by the Greeks to designate "the round shield." Sestini,<sup>124</sup> however, prefers considering the letters Π Ο to be the initials of Πολυρρήνια, Polyrhemia in Crete, and attributes the coin to this city. This round shield was also worn by the Romans, and is represented on the coins of Augustus; on it are the letters CL. V., *Clipeus Votivus*,<sup>125</sup> the shield of heroes or emperors being frequently suspended in private or public places, and dedicated to the gods. The glutton Vitellius had a large bowl made, which he filled with extraordinary delicacies, and which from its size he called "*Clipeus Minervæ* Πολιούχου."<sup>126</sup> It is not quite certain of what

<sup>119</sup> *Æn.* iii. 637.

<sup>120</sup> *Recueil de Médailles*, vol. ii. p. 155, pl. lxxi. No. 14, *cf.* Nos. 12 and 13; *cf. Suppl.* i. p. 62.

<sup>121</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 26.

<sup>122</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* l. c.

<sup>123</sup> The letters Π Ο in monogram on certain other brass coins are supposed to signify Παρ Ὀππος, and the coins are attributed to Panormus, in Sicily (Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. i. p. 234).

<sup>124</sup> *Lett. e Dissert. Num.* vol. ix. p. 17, No. 3; *cf.* Nos. 3 and 4; Mionnet, *Suppl.* vol. iv. No. 255, and Nos. 254, 256.

<sup>125</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 218—228.

<sup>126</sup> "Hanc quoque exsuperavit ipse dedicatione patinæ, quam ob immensam magnitudinem *clipeum Minervæ Πολιούχου* dicti-

substance it was composed, for Pliny, who states that a furnace was constructed in the fields on purpose to make it, says it was of *earthenware*; <sup>127</sup> whilst Dion Cassius, on account of its *enormous size*, describes it of *silver*, <sup>128</sup> and

tabat." Suet. in *Vitell.* 13. He was afterwards called in contempt *patinarius* (Suet. in *Vitell.* 17). Patin, in his notes to Suetonius, engraves (pl. xxviii. No. 4) a coin of Vitellius, with what he supposes to be this shield on it. The coin, however, gives an ordinary representation of the Macedonian shield. The epithet Πολιοῦχος, or "guardian of the city," was not an uncommon epithet of Minerva. Temples were erected to Ἀθήνη Πολιοῦχος on the Acropolis at Sparta, by the Spartans (Paus. iii. 17. 3), and by the people of Chios, at Chios (Herod. i. 160). She was also known at Athens as Παλλὰς Πολιοῦχος (Aristoph. *Equit.* ver. 581), and Pindar (in *Olymp. hymn.* v. 23) addresses her as ὦ Πολιάοχε Παλλὰς. There is a second brass coin of Domitian, given by Eckhel (*Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. vi. p. 394) from the Farnese Museum, which if true, and in existence now, is extremely interesting. On the reverse is the legend ΠΟΛΙΟΥΧΟΣ, the type being Pallas walking to the right, holding a spear and shield. Minerva, the guardian of the city (*custos urbis*), was the tutelar deity of Cicero (*Orat. pro domo*, 57; cf. *de leg.* ii. 17).

<sup>127</sup> "Vitellius in principatu suo CC sestertiis condidit patinam, cui faciendæ fornax in campis exædificata erat; quoniam eo pervenit luxuria, ut etiam *ficilia* pluris constant, quam *murhina*." Lib. xxxv. cap. 12, sect. 46. Mucianus (Plin. *l. c.*) is said to have reproached the memory of Vitellius with his dishes as broad as the Pontine Marsh (*exprobravit patinarum paludes Vitellii memorie*).

<sup>128</sup> Μίαν γοῦν ποτε λοπάδα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδων ἑσκέασε . . . . καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡδύνατον ἦν κεραμέαν τηλικαύτην γενέσθαι, ἀργύρου τε ἐποιήθη. lxv. 3. It seems useless to attempt to determine whether this bowl was of earthenware or of silver. It may, however, be remarked that the *patina*—the word used by Suetonius and Pliny—was usually composed of earthenware; and that had the bowl been of silver, they would have used the term *lanx*, for we know from Pliny (lib. xxxiii. cap. xi. sect. 52) that large silver bowls of this name, weighing from 100 to 500 lbs., were used by the Romans. He does not though forget to ask, "ut quam multi eas conservi ejus inferrent, aut quibus cœnantibus?" Ἀ *patina argentea hederata* is, however,

adds that Hadrian afterwards melted it and turned it to a better use.<sup>129</sup>

The two temples and figures, countermarked to all appearance upon the shield, will probably afford means of ascertaining where this fine piece was issued. Certainly it was not struck at Rome, for the Romans, as Eckhel<sup>130</sup> has already proved, never coined at Rome pieces of large size during the early imperial rule. This has been observed by Dr. Visconti, who says,<sup>131</sup> "This medallion, carefully observed, differs from the Roman ones in every particular. The pellets of the circle are larger, the letters deeper and more rounded, although not so bold as the Roman ones, and there is not the same

mentioned by Trebellius Pollio (*in Claud.* 17). It will be seen that the term employed by Dion Cassius is *λοπάς*, which is explained by Liddell and Scott (*s. v.*) "*a flat earthen (?) vessel, like ῥήγανον, a flat dish or plate.*" In the annotations to Dion Cassius (vol. vi. p. 523; ed. Sturz) it is stated that the *πίναξ* was the *lanx*, and that the *λοπάς* was the *patina*, for that if the *lanx* had been intended Dion would not have added *ἀδύνατον ἦν κεραμέαν τηλικαύτην γενέσθαι*. Juvenal, in satirising the "council of the turbot" of Domitian seems to allude to the "large bowl" of Vitellius (*Sat.* iv. trans. by W. Gifford, in Bohn's *Classical Library*):—

"The Emperor now the important question put,  
How say ye, fathers, shall the fish be cut?  
O! far be that disgrace, Montanus cried;  
No, let a pot be formed of amplest size,  
Within whose slender sides the fish, dread sire,  
May spread his vast circumference entire.  
Bring, bring the tempered clay, and let us feel  
The quick gyrations of the plastic wheel.  
But, Cæsar, thus forewarned, make no campaign  
Unless your potters follow in your train!"

*Cf.* Martial, lib. xiii. *Epig.* lxxxix.

<sup>129</sup> "Καὶ ἔμεινε πολὺν χρόνον, ὥσπερ τι ἀνάθημα, μέχρι οὗ Ἀδριανὸς αὐτὴν ἰδὼν συνεχώνευσεν." Dion Cass. *l.c.*

<sup>130</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. i. p. xlix.

<sup>131</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 223.

freedom of artistic invention with the hair, the locks not being arranged with so much grace. . . . From the usual figures represented on reverses, the difference between this and those of Roman workmanship is strikingly demonstrated. Pallas is most graceful, and almost too delicate; the helmet and visor are of Greek work; the spear in its ornamentation is almost like a sceptre; the folds of her robe, the large size of the Victory, the form of the ship and the little shield with the two temples upon it, all differ from the work of a Roman engraver; and lastly, Pallas, gently reclining, with her elbow resting on the round figured shield, supported by a Hebrew captive, clearly manifest Asiatic delicacy." The Doctor then suggests that this medallion was issued at Ephesus. The temple upon the shield would in consequence represent the temple of Ephesus and Rome, as Dion Cassius records in his life of Augustus;<sup>132</sup> and the figures would mark the sacred games that were permitted by Augustus to be celebrated in honour of the temple of Rome.<sup>133</sup> Temples of precisely a similar form may be seen on some of the Greek imperial coins of Ephesus,<sup>134</sup> and in all probability represent the temple of Ephesus and the temple of Rome. That the city of Ephesus—of which

<sup>132</sup> "Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐχρημάτιζε, καὶ τεμένη τῇ τε Ῥώμῃ, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, ἥρωα αὐτὸν Ἰούλιον ὀνομάσας, ἐν τε Ἐφέσῳ καὶ ἐν Νικαίᾳ γενέσθαι ἐφήκεν." Dion Cass. li. 20.

<sup>133</sup> "Καὶ ἔλαβον καὶ οἱ Περγαμηνοὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἱερὸν ὀνομασμένον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ναοῦ αὐτοῦ τιμῇ ποιεῖν." Dion Cass. l. c. "Provinciarum pleræque super templa et aras, ludos quoque quinquennales pæne oppidatim constituerunt." Suet. in Aug. 59.

<sup>134</sup> On two coins of Caracalla in the British Museum, one with the legend ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙ ΚΥΝΚΑΗΤΟΥ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΟΥΤΟΙ ΝΑΟΙ (not ΗΑΙΟΙ ΝΕΟΙ, as Akerman, *Num. Chron.* O.S. vol. iv. p. 108; cf. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. ii. p. 517. ΝΕΟΙ ΗΑΙΟΙ is given on a coin of Caracalla and Geta by Mionnet

there are extant also silver medallions of Domitian,<sup>135</sup> but none representing the Ephesian Diana—was well disposed towards Domitian, may be assumed from the statement of Philostratus, who says that “when Domitian, after the death of his cousin Sabinus, married Julia (for Julia was the wife of Sabinus, the niece of Domitian, and one of the daughters of Titus), the people of Ephesus held sacrifices to celebrate the wedding.”<sup>136</sup>

The weight of this medallion is 402 grains. Dr. Visconti<sup>137</sup> has supposed that it is a double *cistophorus*. But

*Suppl.* vol. vi. p. 164, from Sestini), the other with the legend ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΑΔΙΑΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ Δ. ΝΕΩΚ. (*Num. Chron.* l. c. p. 109).

<sup>135</sup> Pinder, *Ueber die Cistophoren*, etc., p. 585, pl. iv. 6; vi. 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13.

<sup>136</sup> “Επεὶ δὲ Σαβίνον ἀπεκτονῶς, ἕνα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ξυγγενῶν, Ἰουλίαν ἤγετο (ἡ δ’ Ἰουλία γυνὴ μὲν ἦν τοῦ πεφονευμένου, Δομετιανοῦ δ’ ἀδελφιδῆς, μία τῶν Τιτοῦ θυγατέρων), ἔθυσεν μὲν ἡ Ἐφεσος τοὺς γάμους.” Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* vii. 7. Julia was never really married to Domitian, as here stated, though doubtless from her living with him in criminal intercourse after the death of her husband, many cities may have thought that they were man and wife. Dion Cassius (lxvii. 3) more rightly says, ἤγουν τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ ἀπαρκαλυπτότερον ὡς γαμετῇ συνώκει (*Cf. Suet. in Dom.* 22). Nor was Julia one of the daughters of Titus. Titus was married twice; first, to Arricidia, daughter of Tertullus, by whom he had no children; and, secondly, to Marcia Furnilla, by whom he had one daughter, Julia (*Suet. in Tit.* 4). A curious coin struck at Pergamus, with the heads of Domitian and Julia, is given by Spanheim, but probably does not exist as genuine. (*Cf. Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. vi. p. 366). Domitian, who caused the death of Julia, struck large brass coins to her memory in his fifteenth consulship, A.D. 90 (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Julia, No. 14), from which we learn that she did not survive that year. A silver coin is given by Vaillant, Morell, and Ennery, but Cohen has not met with it (*Méd. Imp.* No. 10). The life of Apollonius, by Philostratus, is “a mass of incongruities and fables” (Smith, *Dict. of Biog.*, s. v. *Apollonius*), but this need not cause us to hesitate to believe that sacrifices and ceremonies were enacted at Ephesus, when Domitian openly took his niece to live with him as his wife.

<sup>137</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 224.

with this opinion I cannot agree, for the *cistophori* are Attic tridrachms, though they were towards the latter period of their issue considered as tetradrachms. Pinder,<sup>138</sup> who does not appear to have seen this piece, also hesitates to support the opinion of Visconti. It seems to me to be connected with the coins of purely Roman weight struck at Ephesus, *i.e.* the coins of Nero with the legends ΔΙΑΠΑΧΜΟΝ and ΔΠΑΧΜΗ, weighing respectively 112 and 56 grains, and with the *denarii* of certain of the Emperors, having EPHE in monogram upon them.<sup>139</sup> It would therefore be an octodrachm. Yet, after all, the weight of this piece is not of the greatest importance, for probably only a few specimens were issued, and these to commemorate the dedication of some temple, or indeed perhaps the supposed marriage of Domitian with Julia. In any case this medallion was struck to gratify the vanity of Domitian, for instead of the usual Ephesian Diana, we find Minerva, the assumed mother of the Emperor. Though the city of Ephesus was thus obsequious in its adulation of Domitian whilst living, it was at Ephesus that Apollonius of Tyana, when Domitian was killed, cried out, "Well done Stephanus, kill the murderer; thou hast struck, thou hast wounded, thou hast slain!"<sup>140</sup> a statement of which Dion Cassius earnestly vouches the truth.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>138</sup> *Ueber die Cistophoren*, etc., p. 586.

<sup>139</sup> It is curious that Vespasian only struck *denarii* at Ephesus, Titus *cistophori*, but no *denarii*, and Domitian issued both (Pinder, *l. c.*).

<sup>140</sup> "Καλῶς Στέφανε, εὖγε Στέφανε, παῖε τὸν μαιφόνον. ἔπληξας, ἔτρωσας, ἀπέκτεινας." Dion Cass. lxvii. 18, *cf.* Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* viii. 26.

<sup>141</sup> "Τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, καὶ μυριάκις τις ἀπιστήσῃ." lxvii. 18.

## TRAJANUS.

*Obv.*—TRAIANVS P. P. AVG. Head of Trajan to the right, laureated; in front, an engraved palm-branch.

*Rev.*—Theseus to the left, subduing the bull of Marathon, which he holds with the right hand by a horn, and with the left by the muzzle. (Pl. IX. No. 4.) Æ. A contorniate.

Published by Sabatier (*Méd. Contorn.* p. 91, No. 3; engraved, *obv.*, pl. ii. No. 11; *rev.*, pl. xiv. No. 3), and erroneously stated to be in the British Museum. It is published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.* vol. vi. p. 572, No. 27) from the French collection.

According to the legend, Theseus is said to have subdued the bull which was ravaging the district of the Tetrapolis of Attica, and having taken it alive, brought it into Marathon, where he sacrificed it at the altar of the Delphic Apollo.<sup>142</sup> In the specimen here published, it will be seen that Theseus is before the bull. Another piece with the head of Caracalla, of which examples are in the *Cabinet Impérial de France*, and the *Musée Impérial de Vienne*, represent the figure of Theseus behind the bull, and standing to the right.<sup>143</sup>

The date of issue of the contorniates has been fixed by M. Sabatier<sup>144</sup> between the reigns of Gratian and Anthemius, A.D. 375—A.D. 472, as this Emperor is the last whose head occurs upon them. They were never used as money, or issued by the authority of the Senate, though some have the letters S. C. Nearly all of them

<sup>142</sup> Plut. *Thes.* 14; cf. Strabo ix. p. 399.

<sup>143</sup> Sabatier, *Méd. Contorn.* p. 91, No 4, pl. xiv., No. 4; Cohen *Méd. Imp.* vol. vi. p. 580, No. 3.

<sup>144</sup> *Méd. Contorn.* p. 8.



bear reference to the games of the circus or amphitheatre.<sup>145</sup>

The engraved palm on the obverse refers to the victory at the games. This mark is almost the commonest of those on the contorniates.

### HADRIANUS.

1. *Obv.*—[HAD]RIA[NVS AVGVSTVS]. Head of Hadrian to the right, covered with a lion's skin.

*Rev.*—TELLVS STABIL. (in *exergue*, both words very indistinct.) Female figure seated on the ground to the left, placing her right hand on a globe, resting her left arm on a basket, and holding in her left hand a large branch of the vine. Behind the globe four children with the attributes of the Seasons. (Pl. X. No. 1.)  
Æ. 9.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.* No. 554) incorrectly, for he gives the obverse legend as IMP. CAESAR . . . and describes the female figure as holding a cornu-copiae, omitting altogether the branch of the vine. A specimen of this coin was formerly in the collection of Joannes Dominicus Theupolus (*Mus. Theup. Ant. Num.* Ser. v. p. 778), and from that collection is published by Vaillant (*Num. Imp. Rom. Praest.* vol. iii. p. 118. Rome, 1743). By both these authors the coins are described with the obverse legend HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. The present piece is from the collection of the late Duke de Blacas.

This medallion, which unfortunately is in a most lamentable condition, is omitted by M. de Witte in his excellent articles "on some inedited coins of Postumus,"<sup>146</sup> and "on some Roman Emperors who took the attributes of Hercules."<sup>147</sup> Eckhel appears to have

<sup>145</sup> *Méd. Contorn.* p. 11.

<sup>146</sup> *Rev. Num.* 1844, p. 330.

<sup>147</sup> *Rev. Num.* 1845, p. 266.

doubted its existence.<sup>148</sup> The interesting part of the obverse—indeed of the whole coin—is the lion's skin on the Emperor's head, such a head-dress being usually supposed to have been introduced by Commodus. It is, however, well known that Hadrian paid special reverence to Hercules as the tutelar deity of Spain, his mother Domitia Paulina having been born at Gades, and his ancestors having been settled in Italica, in Spain.<sup>149</sup> Many of his coins give representations of Hercules,<sup>150</sup> and on some *aurei* there is the legend HERC. GADIT.<sup>151</sup> Casaubon<sup>152</sup> has published two Greek imperial coins of Hadrian, with the legends ΤΩ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙ ΑΥΤ. and ΑΥΤ. Α. (sic K.) ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC CΕΒΑCΤΟC ΗΡΑΚΛΗC ΡΟΜΑΙΟC, the latter of which was doubted by Eckhel,<sup>153</sup> who suggests that it is probably misread for a coin of Commodus, who called himself "Hercules Romanus" on several of his coins. The former is also probably misread.<sup>154</sup>

<sup>148</sup> "Numus . . . . sed cujus mihi fides nonnihil videtur suspecta." *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. vi. p. 509. "Si modo genus inus is putandus est," p. 506.

<sup>149</sup> Hadrian was not born at Italica, in Spain, as stated by Eutropius (viii. 6) and Eusebius (*Chron.* 2155, p. 166, ed. Scaliger), and as the remark of M. de Witte (*Rev. Num.* 1844, p. 357) might lead us to suppose (*Hadrien tirait son origine d'Italica*), but at Rome ("Natus est Romæ ix. Cal. Feb. Vespasiano septies et Tito quinquies coss." Spart. in *Hadr.* 1; cf. Casaubon's Note, and Smith, *Dict. of Biog.*, s.v. *Hadrian*).

<sup>150</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 372—378; cf. J. de Witte, *Rev. Num.* 1844, p. 356, pl. x. No. 13; 1845, p. 271.

<sup>151</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 267.

<sup>152</sup> *Annot. ad Spart. in Hadr.* 13.

<sup>153</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. vi. p. 506.

<sup>154</sup> Occo (*Imp. Rom. Num.* Antw. 1579) has published a coin of Trajan with the legend IMP. HERCVLES ROMANVS CAES. AVG. P. P. S. P. Q. R. OPT. PRIN., but as M. de Witte has already observed (*l.c.*), this piece is also misread.

The reverse legend, TELLVS STABIL., may also be found on the *denarii* of Hadrian,<sup>155</sup> with the type of either a seated or a standing female figure. The exact type of this medallion occurs also upon the brass medallions of Commodus.<sup>156</sup> Vaillant<sup>157</sup> has supposed that these coins, especially those with the standing figure, bear reference to the works of Hadrian in connection with the *lacus Fucinus*, of which Spartian<sup>158</sup> briefly says, “Fucinum emisit;” but, as Eckhel has remarked,<sup>159</sup> “no one can doubt that the globe indicates the *orbis terrarum*, and not only a small portion of land rendered fit for agriculture by the carrying off the water from a lake.” Besides, the object in the right hand of the standing figure which Vaillant took for a “machine for drawing off water” (*antlia*), and Eckhel, with more justice, for a hoe (*ligo*), is certainly a ploughshare; and what had Commodus, on whose coins the same legend and type occur, to do with the *lacus Fucinus*? Eckhel, indeed, thinks that Hadrian may be said *stabilivisse tellurem*, when wars and seditions being overcome, he had established liberty and security, from which agriculture should profit. From gold, silver, and copper coins of Julia Domna, with a somewhat similar type, and with the legend FECVNDITAS,<sup>160</sup> Eckhel concludes that “the inscription of the present coin—*tellus stabilita*—may indicate that the earth was made firm by the procreation of children being provided for, by the prince favouring matrimony, and by the riches of provisions destined for the youthful generation.”

<sup>155</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 495—498.

<sup>156</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 421.

<sup>157</sup> *Num. Imp. Praest.* vol. iii. p. 118.

<sup>158</sup> *In Hadr.* 22.

<sup>159</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. vi. p. 510.

<sup>160</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 21, 22, 144—146.

The four Seasons (or one or more of them) are represented on the coins of several of the Emperors, notably Annius Verus<sup>161</sup> and Commodus,<sup>162</sup> with the legend TEMPORVM FELICITAS. The ancient number of the Seasons, who with the Greeks were goddesses or maidens, appear to have been only two, but afterwards increased to three, like the *Moeræ* (Fates) and *Charites* (Graces).<sup>163</sup> Homer and Hesiod distinguish three seasons—*ἔαρ*, *spring*, *θέρους*, *summer*, and *χειμὼν*, *winter*; and the Athenians are said to have added the fourth, *ὀπώρα*, *autumn*.<sup>164</sup> The Romans, of course, recognised four seasons—*Ver*, *Æstas*, *Autumnus*, and *Hiems*; and they were often represented accompanying the sun in a chariot, drawn by four horses.<sup>165</sup>

2. *Obv.*—HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. Head of Hadrian to the left, laureated.

*Rev.*—No legend. Apollo seated to the right on a rock, playing the lyre to three Muses, one of whom is leaning on a column. (Pl. X. No. 2.) Æ. 11.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.* No. 560). A specimen of this medallion was formerly in the Theupoli collection (*Mus. Theup. Ant. Num.*, series v. p. 778), and is published by Vaillant (*Num. Imp. Rom. Praest.*, vol. iii. p. 119) from that collection. The present specimen is from the cabinet of the late Duke de Blacas.

Apollo was worshipped first in Rome in B.C. 430,<sup>166</sup> but his cult did not obtain till the time of Augustus, who erected on the Palatine, on a part which being struck by

<sup>161</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 1.

<sup>162</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 426.

<sup>163</sup> Smith, *Dict. of Biog.* s.v. *Horæ*.

<sup>164</sup> Liddell and Scott, *Lex.* s.v. *ὄψα*.

<sup>165</sup> Ovid, *Met.* ii. 25.

<sup>166</sup> Livy, iv. 25, 29.

lightning the Augurs had pronounced to be desirable, a temple to *Apollo Palatinus*.<sup>167</sup> This temple was commenced in B.C. 36,<sup>168</sup> but was finished and dedicated in B.C. 28, a library being at the same time placed adjoining it.<sup>169</sup> The golden tripods for this temple were made by Augustus from the metal statues which had previously been erected to himself,<sup>170</sup> but which, following the advice of Mæcenas,<sup>171</sup> he turned to other uses, even employing them in some cases for money.<sup>172</sup>

<sup>167</sup> "Templum Apollinis in ea parte Palatinæ domus excitavit, quam *fulmine ictam* desiderari à Deo haruspices pronuntiârant." Suet. in *Aug.* 29. The late Abbé Cavedoni has illustrated this passage with the following coin of Augustus: *Obv.* Bare head of Octavian. *Rev.* IMP. CAESAR, written on either side of a term of Apollo, placed upon a *thunderbolt*. But I prefer, with M. Cohen (*Méd. Cons. Julia*, No. 93; pl. xxiii. *Julia*, No. 65; *Méd. Imp.* No. 107), considering this type to be "a term of Priapus on a thunderbolt." (See Cavedoni, *Il Mon. Ancir. di Ces. Aug. illustr. co' i riscontri delle sue Medag.* p. 23, inserted in vol. vi. series ii. of the *Opuscoli Religiosi, Letterari e Morali*, Modena.)

<sup>168</sup> "Τὸν γὰρ τόπον, ὃν ἐν Στατίῳ [read Παλατίῳ or perhaps Παλατιίῳ ὄρει], ὥστ' οἰκοδομησαί τινα, ἐώητο, ἐδημοσίωσε, καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἱέρωσεν, κ.τ.λ." Dion Cass. xlix. 15, ed. Sturz. Lips. 8vo. 1824.

<sup>169</sup> "Τό, τέ Ἀπολλώνιον τό, τέ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ, καὶ τὸ τεμένισμα τὸ περὶ αὐτὸ, τὰς τέ ἀποθήκας τῶν βιβλίων ἐξεποίησε καὶ καθιέρωσε." Dion Cass. liii. 1. "Addidit porticus cum bibliotheca Latinâ Græcâque." Suet. in *Aug.* 29; cf. *Mon. Ancyr.* 4, 1, ed. Mommsen. Berl. 1865; Hor. *Carm. Lib. i. Od. 31*; *Epist. lib. i. 3*, 17.

<sup>170</sup> Suet. in *Aug.* 52; *Mon. Ancyr.* 4, 52.

<sup>171</sup> Dion Cass. lii. 35.

<sup>172</sup> Dion Cass. liii. 22; cf. liv. 35. Yet Augustus did not object to be considered the son of Apollo, and almost to be worshipped as that deity (Suet. in *Aug.* 70, 79, 94; Dion Cass. xlv. 1). Nero did not hesitate to represent himself on his coins as a woman with a lyre (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 204—214, 278). Could Augustus have intended to allude to himself on the coins of Apollo Actius? (cf. also Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 70).

Eckhel<sup>171</sup> thinks that this temple may be alluded to—if not represented—on some coins of Augustus,<sup>174</sup> and that the *Apollo Palatinus* may be connected with the *Apollo Actius* and *Diana*, especially as there was a priesthood of *Diana Victrix* and *Apollo Palatinus*, commemorated by an inscription given by Muratori—SACERDOS DIANÆ VICTR. ET APOLLINIS PALAT.,—and as the *Apollo Palatinus* on the coins of Commodus<sup>175</sup> has exactly the same dress as the *Apollo Actius* on the coins of Augustus.<sup>176</sup> M. Cohen<sup>177</sup> has given a silver coin from Vaillant, with the legend APOLLIN., the type being a hexastyle temple, within which is the statue of Apollo. It may be remarked that Morell<sup>178</sup> has published and engraved the same coin from Goltzius, which does not speak much in its favour.

I am unable to ascertain whether Hadrian paid any special reverence to Apollo, but as he dedicated temples to *all the gods*,<sup>179</sup> Apollo was of course included in the number. The legend and type of Apollo, with various epithets, occur on the coins of several of the Emperors.<sup>180</sup> The temple of the Palatine Apollo was, according to Ammianus Marcellinus,<sup>181</sup> consumed by fire in the reign of Julian the Apostate.

And now a few words about the Muses. In early times three Muses only were worshipped.<sup>182</sup> The three

<sup>173</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. vi. pp. 85, 93.

<sup>174</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 16.

<sup>175</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 8—11, 345, 462, 463.

<sup>176</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 128, 129, 133, 286.

<sup>177</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* No. 45.

<sup>178</sup> *Aug. tab.* xv. No. 40; cf. Patin, *not. in Suet.* pl. xii. No. 4.

<sup>179</sup> Paus. *Attic.* 18, 9; *Num. Chron.* N.S. vol. vi. p. 183.

<sup>180</sup> Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. viii. *Index.*

<sup>181</sup> *Lib.* xxii.; *Num. Chron.* N.S. vol. v. p. 35.

<sup>182</sup> *Élite des Monuments Céramographiques*, edited by Ch.

worshipped on Mount Helicon were *Meleté*, *Mnemé*, and *Aedé*;<sup>183</sup> whilst at Delphi, as marking the tones of the music, they were called *Hypaté* (highest), *Mesé* (middle), and *Neté* (lowest).<sup>184</sup> These were afterwards increased to four and to eight, till at last the number nine was established in Greece, and adopted by the Romans.<sup>185</sup>

The Muses were instructors of the bards in Homer,<sup>186</sup> and are generally connected with Apollo, the god of song and music,<sup>187</sup> who, from being the "leader of the Muses," was called *Musagetes*.<sup>188</sup>

The Muses were also connected at Rome with Hercules, who was likewise regarded as *Musagetes*, and to whom a temple was erected at Rome under the title of "the temple of *Hercules Musarum*." This temple of Hercules *Musagetes* was transferred from Ambracia, in B.C. 187, by Fulvius Nobilior, the conqueror of the Ætolians,<sup>189</sup> and was rebuilt by him in the *Circus Flaminius*.<sup>190</sup> It was again

Lenormant and J. de Witte, vol. ii. p. 273. Paris, 4to. 1857; Müller, *Ancient Art and its Remains*, translated from the German by John Leitch, p. 515, 2nd ed. 1850.

<sup>183</sup> Paus. ix. 29, 2.

<sup>184</sup> Plut. *Sympos.* ix. 14, 4.

<sup>185</sup> Smith, *Dict. of Biography*, s.v. *Musæ*.

<sup>186</sup> *Od.* viii. 488. Eustath.

<sup>187</sup> Cf. *Il.* i. 603.

<sup>188</sup> " . . . τὰς παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὀνομαζομένας Μούσας. Τούτων δ' ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν, Ἀπόλλωνα λέγουσιν ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Μουσηγέτην αὐτὸν ὀνομάσθαι." Diod. Sic. i. 18. Ἀπόλλων Μουσηγέτης. Strabo. lib. x. ch. iii. 10. ed. Didot. p. 402; cf. Pausan. i. 2, 4; Plut. *Sympos.* ix. 3.

<sup>189</sup> "Opera quæ sola in Ambraciâ relictæ sunt, cum iude Musas Fulvius Nobilior Romam transferret." Plin. xxxvii. ch. 10, sect. 36, ed. Sillig. 1851. "Omnium Camenarum ex Ambraciensi oppido translata sub tutela fortissimi numinis consecravît, ut res est, quia mutuis opibus et præmiis juvari ornarique deberent, Musarum quies defensione Herculis, et virtus Herculis voce Musarum." Eumenius, *Pro instaurationis scholis orat.* ch. vii.

<sup>190</sup> "Aedem Herculis Musarum in circo Flaminio Fulvius ille

rebuilt, and had a portico added to it by L. Marcius Philippus, the step-father of Augustus.<sup>191</sup> The temple of "*Hercules Musarum*" has been supposed by some to have been dedicated to Hercules *and* the Muses; but Baumgarten Crusius<sup>192</sup> rightly shows that the temple was dedicated to Hercules as *Musagetes*, or "leader of the Muses." Indeed Eumenius, to whom we have already referred, states that Fulvius Nobilior, when in Greece, accepted "*Hercules Musagetes* to be the companion and leader of the Muses."<sup>193</sup>

There is evidently an allusion to this temple on the coins of the Pomponia family, some of which have a figure of *Hercules Musagetes*, with the legend HERCVLES MVSARVM.<sup>194</sup> On these coins Hercules is represented with a lyre, illustrated by the line of Ovid,<sup>195</sup> "Alnuit Alcides, increpuitque lyram." On other coins of Q. Pomponius Musa<sup>196</sup> there are the representations of the nine Muses with their attributes. These have been all identified by Borghesi, whose nomenclature

Nobilior ex pecuniâ censoriâ fecit." Eumen. *l. c.*; cf. Cic. *pro Arch.* 11.

<sup>191</sup> Suet. *in Aug.* 29; cf. Plin. xxxv. ch. 10, sect. 36.

<sup>192</sup> Ad Suet. *in Aug.* 29.

<sup>193</sup> "Fulvius Nobilior . . . quod in Græciâ cum esset imperator, acceperat Herculem Musagetem esse, id est, comitem ducemque Musarum." Eumen. *l. c.* Yet it is curious that Plutarch (*Quæst. Rom.* 59) speaks of a *ῥωμὸς Ἡρακλέους καὶ Μουσῶν*.

<sup>194</sup> Cohen, *Méd. Cons.* Pomponia, No. 4; pl. xxxiv. No. 4.

<sup>195</sup> *Fast.* vi. 810.

<sup>196</sup> It may be remarked that all the coins of Pomponius Musa have an accent on the *u*, MŪSA. M. Cohen, who has written an interesting essay on the "veritable pronunciation of Latin from ancient coins" (*Rev. Num.* 1854, p. 296, *seq.*), has shown that this accent was intended to mark that the *u* should be pronounced *ou*, quoting as proof the coins of the Furia family, on which both FOVRIVS and FŪRI occur.



has been followed by Cohen.<sup>197</sup> Quintus Pomponius Musa is unknown, but all his coins must have been struck about B.C. 67. The head upon the obverse of all these coins has been thought by Eckhel<sup>198</sup> to be that of Mnemosyne, the mother of the Muses.

It may be observed that some might consider the three female figures on these coins to represent the *Graces* (*Χαριτες*), who are known to have been companions of Apollo. On early statues of Apollo, this god is represented carrying the Graces on his hand. From the position, however, of Apollo and the figures on this medallion, I am in favour of the description I have given above of Apollo and the Muses. It is not possible to identify which of the nine Muses the three on this piece are intended to represent, nor do I suppose that any special Muses were selected by the artist.

#### ANTONINUS PIUS.

*Obv.*—ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. TR. P.  
XIX. COS. IIII. Head of Antoninus Pius to the right, laureated.

*Rev.*—No legend. Sylvanus standing, facing, naked, with a robe over the left arm, which rests upon a pillar, and upon the base of which he places his left foot, holding in the right hand a pruning-knife (*falx*) and in the left a branch of oak (?), which he has just cut off the tree on the left of the coin; at his feet a dog; on the right an altar, on which is a two-handled vase. (Pl. X. No. 3.) Æ. 10½.

<sup>197</sup> The only coin on which the name of a Muse occurs, *i.e.* CALLIOPE, is a small brass of the Emperor Probus. It is, however, only published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.* No. 151) from *Tanini*.

<sup>198</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. v. p. 285.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.* No. 428; engraved pl. xi.), who describes the object in the left hand of Sylvanus as "a branch of pine (?)." He also states that on the right there is "a tree and an altar," mistaking a portion of the "column" for a "tree." This is in all probability the same coin as the one described by Vaillant (*Num. Imp. Praest.* vol. iii. p. 127), who gives the reverse legend as TR. P. XIX. COS. IIII., and calls the figure "Cabirus." In the account of the Theupoli collection (Ser. v. p. 780), the figure is also called "Cabirus," as likewise in the catalogue Wiczay. The present medallion is from the collection of the late Duke de Blacas.

A marble statue of Sylvanus, very similar to the figure on this piece, is described by Clarac as existing in a collection in England.<sup>199</sup> Other marble statues are assigned in Clarac<sup>200</sup> to *Vertumnus*, but they with more probability represent *Sylvanus*. A small bronze statue of Sylvanus, found at Nuceria Alfaterna (*Nocera*), in Campania, and recently purchased for the British Museum by Mr. Newton, is something like the small marble statue first mentioned, and also very similar to the figure on this medallion. In all of them the god is crowned with pine, and in some carries a thick branch of the pine-tree. On four out of the five the *falx* is in the right hand, whilst on the bronze statue it has probably been broken off. On three of them the god is accompanied by a dog.

The god Sylvanus is spoken of as presiding over trees, and is expressly represented as carrying the cypress.<sup>201</sup> Though he is represented with a pine on all the above-mentioned statues, I do not think that the tree and branch on this medallion can possibly represent this tree. I cannot quite satisfy myself as to what it may be from

<sup>199</sup> *Mus. de Sculpture Ant. et Mod.* vol. iii. pl. 449, No. 820A, *Coll. Blundell*.

<sup>200</sup> *Op. cit.* pl. 447, Nos. 817A, 819, *Dresden*; pl. 448, No. 818, *Paris*; pl. 449, No. 820, *Munich*.

<sup>201</sup> *Virg. Georg.* i. 20.

the smallness of the design, but incline rather to consider it an "oak," and we know that *Glandifer* was among the epithets bestowed upon Sylvanus.<sup>202</sup>

The dog shows him to be the protector of flocks.<sup>203</sup>

The vase on the altar, which is in all probability a *crater*, indicates that wine was among the gifts offered to him.<sup>204</sup>

The god Sylvanus has been supposed by Haym<sup>205</sup> to be represented on some Greek imperial coins of Pergamus, of which the following is a description :—

*Obv.*—ΠΕΡΤΑΜΗΝΟΙ ΣΙΑΒΑΝΟΝ. A figure wearing the *toga* standing to the left, holding a *patera*; he is crowned by a figure in military dress.

*Rev.*—ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ written above a tetrastyle temple, within which a military figure, holding a spear. In the *exergue*, ΔΗΜΟΦΩΝ. *Æ.* 5.<sup>206</sup>

But there is not much doubt, as Eckhel<sup>207</sup> has suggested, that the name is that of a prætor or proconsul in Asia, whom the Pergamenians wished to honour. The *Fasti*<sup>208</sup> give us the name of a Plautius Silvanus as consul in B.C. 2, and we learn from Suetonius that temples were often decreed in the provinces to proconsuls.<sup>209</sup> In Josephus<sup>210</sup> we read that Agrippa wrote a letter to a Silanus prætor,

<sup>202</sup> Muratori, p. 70, No. 6.

<sup>203</sup> Virg. *Æn.* viii. 600, 601.

<sup>204</sup> Hor. *Epod.* ii. 19; Tibull. i. 5, 27.

<sup>205</sup> *Tesoro Britanico*, vol. ii. p. 175, No. ix.

<sup>206</sup> Mionnet, vol. ii. p. 593, No. 535; ΣΙΑΒΙΑΝΟΝ (?) *Suppl.* vol. v. p. 428, No. 929.

<sup>207</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. ii. p. 467.

<sup>208</sup> Clinton, *Fast. Hell.* vol. iii. p. 258.

<sup>209</sup> "Templa, quamvis sciret etiam proconsulibus decerni solere." Suet. in *Aug.* 52.

<sup>210</sup> *Antiq.* xvi. 6, 4.

at Ephesus, in favour of the Jews. By some editors <sup>211</sup> the text is given as *ἐγραψα δὲ καὶ Σιλουανῶ τῷ στρατηγῶ*.

A very similar type occurs also upon coins representing an *ὁμόνοια* between Pergamus and Sardis.<sup>212</sup> The figures here appear both to be aged. Eckhel<sup>213</sup> considers them to represent Æsculapius of the Pergamenians, and Jupiter of the Sardians, these deities being especially venerated at these cities. Dr. Birch has supposed<sup>214</sup> that the two figures represent the respective "demi" or personified people of Pergamus and Sardis, one, in sign of alliance, conferring a civic crown upon the other,—especially as some coins of Aezanis, in Phrygia, have the word ΔΗΜΟΣ, and represent the "demi" shaking hands.<sup>215</sup> This may be the correct explanation of the type on these *ὁμόνοια* coins, but I do not think it can be applied to the coins with the name ΣΙΑΒΑΝΟΝ. For these the interpretation above given seems to me preferable. The temple on these coins doubtless refers to that erected at Pergamus to Augustus.<sup>216</sup> Demophon, who is considered by Haym<sup>217</sup> to be the priest belonging to the temple, was no doubt the prætor or proconsul, and perhaps had succeeded

<sup>211</sup> Cf. ed. Hudson, p. 723. Oxon. 1720.

<sup>212</sup> Mionnet, vol. ii. p. 594, No. 540.

<sup>213</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. ii. p. 467; vol. iii. p. 117.

<sup>214</sup> *Num. Chron.* O.S. vol. vii. p. 7.

<sup>215</sup> *Num. Chron.* O.S. vol. vii. p. 9; pl. i. fig. 3.

<sup>216</sup> "Pergamēnos (eo ipso nitebantur) æde Augusto ibi sita, satis adeptos creditum." Tac. *Ann.* iv. 55. "Cum divus Augustus sibi atque urbi Romæ templum apud Pergamum sisti non prohibuisset." *Ann.* 37. "Τοῖς δὲ δὴ ξένοις (Ἕλληνας σφᾶς ἐπικαλέσας) ἑαυτῶ τινα, τοῖς μὲν Ἀσιανοῖς ἐν Περγάμῳ, τοῖς δὲ Βιθυνοῖς ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ τεμενίσαι ἐπέτρεψε." Dion Cass. li. 20. The temple occurs upon other coins of Pergamus, and on the Roman silver medallions struck in Asia (Pinder, *Ueber die Cistoph.* pl. iv. Nos. 4—8).

<sup>217</sup> *Tes. Brit. l. c.*

Silvanus. His name occurs also upon coins of Caius and Lucius Cæsars,<sup>218</sup> and upon an autonomous coin of Sardis, in Lydia, probably of the time of Augustus.<sup>219</sup>

A figure of the god Sylvanus is given by Morel<sup>220</sup> as occurring upon a leaden piece, which he has placed among the uncertain family coins. The legends are SILVANI and HERMEROTIS. I do not know if this piece exists, or if existing, whether it is genuine, as the legends are rather peculiar.

It is curious that one of the consuls in A.D. 156, the year in which this medallion was struck, was named M. Ceionius *Silvanus*.<sup>221</sup>

#### CONSTANTIUS II.

*Obv.*—D. N. CONSTANTIVS P. F. AVG. Bust of Constantius II. to the right with the diadem, and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

*Rev.*—LARGITIO. Constantius II., in imperial consular dress, seated facing, his feet on a footstool, holding in his left hand a scroll, and giving money with his right to a female with radiated crown (Constantinople), who bends forward to the right, holding out her robe; on the left a helmeted female figure (*Virtus*) standing, placing her right hand on the shoulder of the Emperor, and holding a long spear in her left. (Pl. X. No. 4.) Æ. 10½.

Published by Cohen (*Méd. Imp.* vol. vi. p. 303, No. 164, pl. vii., *bis.*), and by Sabatier (*Méd. Contorn.* p. 119, No. 2, pl. xix. No. 2), with neither of whose descriptions does mine quite agree. Why M. Sabatier has included this medallion among the contorniates, I am at a loss to understand. He says that the thinness of the piece, the style of the work, and espe-

<sup>218</sup> Mionnet, *Suppl.* vol. v. p. 429, No. 936.

<sup>219</sup> Hunter, *Mus.* p. 260; pl. xlvii. fig. xv.

<sup>220</sup> *Fam. Rom.* vol. ii. p. 461; *Fam. incert.* pl. i. fig. K.

<sup>221</sup> Clinton, *Fast. Rom.* vol. i. p. 142.

cially the subject represented on the reverse, have appeared to him sufficient reasons for placing it among the contorniates, though at the same time he admits that he knows of another in the Capranese collection with the *flan* much thicker, which he assigns positively to the medallions. But it is precisely "the style of the work" which prevents me from admitting M. Sabatier's attribution. The bust of Constantius II. is as of good workmanship as that of any *solidus* or *denarius* of the period, whilst the reverse type, as we shall presently see, is quite agreeable to pieces issued as coins. The contorniates, on the contrary, are universally of a very bad style. This medallion has been also published by Spanheim (*De Praest. et usu Num. Antiq.* vol. ii. p. 534); Gorius (*Mus. Flor.* Nos. cccviii., ccex., vol. iii. pp. 211, 212, pl. xcix. Nos. 1 and 2); Banduri (*Num. Imp. Rom.* vol. ii. p. 378); and Vaillant (*Num. Imp. Praest.* vol. iii. p. 247).

Spanheim, following Chiflet, thinks that the radiated figure exhibits Arsaces, King of Armenia, who according to Ammianus Marcellinus<sup>222</sup> received from Constantius magnificent presents. This Arsaces came to the throne either in A.D. 341 or A.D. 354. This idea is quite out of the question. Gorius, who published two specimens, considers with more justice the figures to represent Rome and Constantinople; but I agree with M. Cohen in considering the helmeted figure to be that of Valour (*Virtus*), who is evidently encouraging the Emperor in his generosity. The date we assign for the issue of this medallion will bear out this idea.

The date of its issue can be approximately fixed. It is certainly not earlier than A.D. 350, in which year Constans was murdered by Magnentius, and Constantius II. would naturally attempt to assume the government of the whole empire, not of course recognising the usurpation of Magnentius. Hence a need for a *largitio*, especially at Constantinople, as Constantius was Emperor in the East,

<sup>222</sup> Lib. xx. ch. 4.

and would wish to gain the favour of his Eastern subjects, in order to obtain for himself the government of the West and to become really sole Emperor. There are gold coins of Constantius issued also in this year with, on the obverse, the diademed bust to right, and on the reverse Rome and Constantinople seated on either side of a shield, the position calling to mind that of the figures on this medallion, though on this latter piece Constantinople is on the left instead of the right, and the figure on the right, as we have above stated, is rather intended for that of Valour (*Virtus*) than of Rome. It would seem as if there was some connection between *Virtus* (Valour) and *Ρωμῆ* (Strength). There is, however, enough similarity of design for us to conclude that these pieces were issued about the same time. The "Rome and Constantinople" reverse type for the gold is continued in A.D. 351, and in succeeding years, but with the addition of a helmet to the bust of Constantius,<sup>223</sup> which in all probability was added after the defeat of Magnentius at the battle of Mursa, in this year, notwithstanding that Constantius is said to have displayed on this occasion more piety than courage.<sup>224</sup>

I had thought that a similar representation of figures might be found on the Consular diptychs, but there is nothing given by Pulszky<sup>225</sup> which would agree with it in representation or date. The nearest in date is a diptych of the Consul Rufius Probianus, preserved in the Royal Library of Berlin, formerly in the Paulinish

<sup>223</sup> The helmeted full-faced bust occurs for the first time upon these coins of Constantius II.

<sup>224</sup> Smith, *Dict. of Biog.* s.v. *Constantius II.*

<sup>225</sup> *Catalogue of the Fejérváry Ivories in the Museum of Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., of Liverpool.*

Library, at Munster, and now forming the cover of a MS. life of St. Ludgerus. This has been published by Professor Westwood, who assigns its date to the year 322,<sup>226</sup> though in the official description of the Berlin Library it is stated that there were two consuls of the name of Rufius Probianus, in A.D. 377 and 416. These are not given by Clinton. Probianus was, from the inscription on the upper part of each leaf, VICARIVS VRBIS ROMAE.

The word *largitio* supersedes the terms of *liberalitas* and *congiarium* of the Upper Empire. Constantine I. introduced the office of *comes sacrarum largitionum*.

The figure of the Emperor seems to be clothed with the imperial consular dress. I have already, in an earlier volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*,<sup>227</sup> attempted to show of what in all probability this dress consisted. Constantius II. on this medallion holds in his left hand the *mappa* or napkin which was thrown into the circus by the person presiding, for the games to commence: on the diptychs the Emperor usually holds it in the right.

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

<sup>226</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xv. N.S. 1863, pp. 14, 143; cf. p. 438.

<sup>227</sup> Vol. i. N.S. p. 231.



## XVI.

FIND OF COINS OF ALLECTUS; AT OLD FORD,  
BOW.

MAITLAND, in his "History of London," describes a Roman road, which he terms the "*Vicinal Way*," as passing from Aldgate, through Bethnal Green, to the Roman "*Trajectus*" over the Lea, at Old Ford, into Essex—uniting previously with the *Via Icenaria* described by Dr. Stukeley.

Approaching London from the Ferry, *two* Roman roads branched off—one, going south-west through Bethnal Green, entered the city at Aldgate; the other ran more to the north-west, crossing Cambridge Heath into Old Street, and skirting the metropolis on the north, it seems either to have united with the Roman "*Watling Street*," or, crossing it, to have run on to the station of SVLLO-MAGVS, *en route* for VERVLAMIVM.

A quarter of a mile from the Ferry, on the Middlesex side, in a fork between these roads, where the ground rises into low hills, composed for the most part of dry, bright, gravel, some labourers, in February, 1866, when digging for the foundation of a house, came upon a small vase of dark pottery filled with 3rd brass coins of Allectus. The jar was broken, but most of the coins were recovered. There were a few among them in tolerable preservation,

but the bulk were much corroded. The deposit was about three feet in the earth, at the point where the upper stratum of soil united with the gravel. I examined about one-third of the whole, and found the reverses to represent a galley, varying in size, some having five rowers, others but two; the *rig* of the craft was also different,—the small-sized boat having a mast with two stays, the masts of the larger vessels being furnished with a cross-yard, and their decks with high prows. The inscription upon the first was LÆTITIA AVG., but VIRTUS AVG. was universal upon the latter; the small size were the least common. I was aware that this neighbourhood had in times past yielded some valuable articles to the antiquary, and consequently was not surprised to find that in addition to the above, and about 500 yards from the spot where the coins were discovered, some workmen, in making a sewer, came upon a stone coffin containing a well-preserved skeleton of a female, which measured about 5 feet 4 inches. The lid of the coffin projected over its sides, which were  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in thickness; this projection of the lid had tended to preserve the remains from damp and consequent decay. The teeth were perfect, and, with the exception of two which had fallen out of their sockets, were firm in the jaws. The skull was well-shaped, and doubtless the owner of it had been a Roman lady of some consequence, but I saw nothing with the bones in the way of personal ornament.

While on the subject of coins of Allectus, I may mention that I have in my collection a coin of that Emperor which exhibits a hitherto unpublished reverse. The obverse gives the usual portrait, with the radiated crown, and the

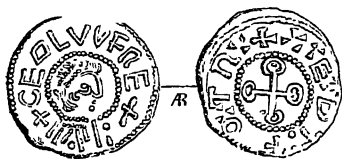
legend IMP C. ALLECTVS P. F. AVG. The reverse also presents the common legend VIRTVS AVG., and the letters Q.L. in the exergue, showing that the coin was issued from the London Mint, but the type is entirely new.



There is, indeed, the galley with five oars, but instead of any rowers there is extending along nearly the whole length of the boat a seated figure, apparently of Neptune, holding a palm-branch in his left, and some uncertain object in his right hand. In general character the figure much resembles that on the silver coin of Carausius, published in the Numismatic Chronicle, N.S. vol. i. p. 36, with the legend CONSER. AVG.; but we here have the galley, making the general appearance of the coins closely correspond with that of the common brass coins of Allectus.

It will be remembered that on another of his coins, with the same legend of VIRTVS AVG., engraved in the "Monumenta Historica Britannica," pl. xvii. No. 18, there is on the prow of the galley a military figure, armed with a spear and shield. The original is in the Hunter collection at Glasgow.

WM. ALLEN.



## XVII.

NOTE UPON TWO UNPUBLISHED SAXON  
PENNIES.

(Read before the Numismatic Society, May 17, 1866.)

By the kind permission of Mr. H. Burke Godwin, of Newbury, I am enabled to exhibit to the Society two rare Saxon coins which have lately come into his possession, both of which present some peculiarities which I think have not before been noticed.

They are both Mercian coins, one of them bearing the name of Offa, the other that of Ceolwlf. The obverse of the Offa bears his bust to the right, with drapery or armour on the shoulders, and the hair arranged in seven large curled locks. Behind the head is a cross, and in front is the legend ·OFFA. The type is, in fact, exactly that of Ruding, pl. 4, 10, which in this case, however, is combined with a totally different reverse, viz., that of Ruding, pl. c. No. 4, with the moneyer's name +DVD. The cross and letters are in the spaces between four ornaments formed of double lines, making horseshoe-shaped arches in the outer circle, in each of which is a small cross of pellets. In the centre of the coin is a plain cross surmounted by a saltier, the limbs of which have trefoil-

like ends. The engraving from Ruding is from a coin formerly in the Cuff collection, and does not, I think, give the details of the device with accuracy. At all events I have a specimen of the same type engraved in C. Roach Smith's, *Coll. Ant.* vol. i. pl. xxiii. 7, which differs in several respects from Ruding's engraving, but agrees exactly with Mr. Godwin's coin, except in the saltier in the centre being formed entirely of pellets. The coin is considerably worn, and weighs only  $18\frac{3}{4}$  grains.

The second coin (which it is believed was found in North Lincolnshire) presents on the obverse a very barbarous bust to the right, the drapery forming a truncated triangle extending to the rim of the coin. The legend is +CEOLWVF NEX, and what is singular, the C appears to be of the usual rounded form instead of the square L. The legend on the reverse seems to be +·E·D·T·F·O·:·T·R·:, the device in the centre being a cross with oval loops at the end. The coin weighs  $21\frac{1}{2}$  grains, and adds a new type to the coins of Ceolwlf, which must, I think, be referred to the first Mercian king of that name. It is singular that the error of *Ceolwlf* for Ceolwlf may be paralleled with a misprint in Mr. Hawkins' *Silver Coins*, p. 32, where the name of the second *Ciolwlf* is given as *Ciolwlf*.

It is remarkable that in Mr. Bergne's collection is a coin of Coenwulf with a rude head, different from any in Ruding or Hawkins, but something like Ruding, pl. vi. No. 4, and with a double cross or star of eight rays in the centre of the reverse, around which is the same legend +·E·D·T·F·O·:·T·R·. The points which separate the letters on this coin are perfectly circular dots, while on the coin figured above they are wedge-shaped; and Mr. Bergne's coin is generally of better execution than the

other. Mr. Bergne (to whom I am indebted for some of the following remarks) informs me that a coin of a similar type occurred in the Devonshire collection, Lot 19, which in a marked catalogue is stated to have been purchased for the late Rev. T. F. Dymock. It did not, however, appear in the sale of his cabinet in the year 1859, and it is said that he parted with it because he was unable to form any conjecture as to the meaning of the letters which form the reverse legend. Mr. Bergne's coin may possibly be the same specimen, but he did not obtain it from Mr. Dymock.<sup>1</sup> Whether the mysterious looking legend is to be regarded as the name of a moneyer, or whether it has some more recondite signification, the fact of its occurring on a coin of Coenwulf shows the propriety of attributing the coin under consideration to Ceolwulf I., his immediate successor, and not to the second Mercian Ciolwulf. Indeed, if we accept the very cogent arguments adduced by Mr. Lindsay in his "View of the Coinage of the Heptarchy" (pp. 33 *et seqq.*),<sup>2</sup> it would appear that there are no coins which can with confidence be assigned to Ciolwulf II., except the coin engraved in Ruding, pl. vii. No. 2, and possibly the coin found at Gravesend in 1840, in company with upwards of 400 coins of Burgred, and about 120 coins of other sole and heptarchic kings, nearly the whole of which

<sup>1</sup> Another coin of Coenwulf, in which the reverse legend is arranged in a similar manner, is engraved in Ruding, pl. vi. No. 6. The letters on that coin appear to form the name of a moneyer.

<sup>2</sup> See also some remarks by F. D. (the Rev. T. F. Dymock, who was a careful student and excellent judge of Anglo-Saxon coins), on the arrangement of Mercian pennies bearing the inscription Ceolwulf or Ciolwulf Rex, in the Num. Chron. O.S. vol. iv. p. 23. This valuable paper is, however, so inaccurately printed as to be scarcely intelligible in many places.

must necessarily have been of a much later date than the first Ciolwulf. This hoard is described in the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. iii. p. 27. To the two coins in question must, I suppose, be added the very remarkable coin of Ceolwulf, found at Cuerdale, and engraved in the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. v. p. 10, with a reverse copied from that of the gold *solidi* of the later Roman Emperors. The coins in company with which the Gravesend and Cuerdale Ciolwulf were found, render it difficult to suppose that they do not belong to the second Mercian king of the name. But apart from this circumstance there is nothing in their types which would absolutely forbid their being assigned to Ciolwulf I. In fact, the name of the moneyer of the Gravesend coin occurs on a coin, Ruding, pl. xxvii., which can hardly be attributed to any other than the first Ciolwulf. In each of the two hoards above referred to, there were found a few coins either of a date as early as the reign of that king, or but little posterior to it, so that it is not *impossible* that both the Ciolwulfs may be of the first king, though it is certainly not likely.

I may add that the coin, of which a wood-cut is given above, is now in my own collection.

JOHN EVANS.

## XVIII.

## ON THE "NEN-GO."

Yokohama, Dec. 26, 1865.

DEAR SIR,

In reply to your note of October the 5th, I have great pleasure in furnishing you with the following list of *Nen-go* :

文政	<i>bun sei</i>	.	.	.	.	.	1818—1829.
天保	<i>tem pó</i>	.	.	.	.	.	1830—1843.
弘化	<i>kó kua</i>	.	.	.	.	.	1844 1847.
嘉永	<i>a yei</i>	.	.	.	.	.	1848—1853.
安政	<i>an sei</i>	.	.	.	.	.	1854—1859.
葛延	<i>man yen</i>	.	.	.	.	.	1860.
文久	<i>bun kiu</i>	.	.	.	.	.	1861—1863.
元治	<i>gen ji</i>	.	.	.	.	.	1864.
慶應	<i>kei ó</i>	.	.	.	.	.	1865.

The Dairi or Mikadoó during this period are—

孝院 *nin kó no* in 1817—1846, and

今天皇 *kon jó ten ó* (Jap.)  
*kin shang tien huang* (Chin.)



Of these *Nen-go* only *tem pó* and *bun kiu* have been impressed on any coins ; the former gives its name to the large hundred cash piece, also called *tó-hiaku* (當百)

Up to the period *bun kiu* the cash in use were marked

寶 寬 通 *yei tsû hó*  
永 or *kuan*.

In *bun kiu* new 4-cash pieces were coined of bronze

文  
寶 永 *bun kiu yei hó.*  
久

Previous to *bun kiu* there were 4-cash pieces of copper, brass, and iron, and copper and iron 1-cash pieces. By a recent edict these values are now altered. The brass 4-cash piece of *kuan yei* passes at 12 cash, but the iron and copper remain as before. The single cash copper piece passes for 4, but the iron 1-cash piece retains its old value. The brass 1-cash piece of *kuan yei*, called *mimi-jiro-zeni* (耳白金文), passes at 6-cash, but is very rare. I send you herewith specimens of each, and hope they may be of some service. At any time I shall be very happy to supply either specimens or information on the subject.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

ERNEST SATOW.

*S. Birch, Esq.*

## XIX.

EXPLANATION OF A TABLE OF THE JAPANESE  
NEN - GO, WITH ADDITIONAL TABLES TO  
FACILITATE ITS USE.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, April 19, 1866.]

HAVING in my possession a curious Japanese work on chronology, in which is a complete list of the Nen-go, or epochs, of the reigns of the Japanese monarchs, to the year 1861, arranged in a tabular form, and as such a table must be of great utility in the identification of Japanese coins, I have been induced to make a copy of it, with such additions as appeared to me necessary to render it available and intelligible to a collector of those coins, and now beg leave to present the same to the Society, with a few explanatory remarks.

The work from which this table is taken is one of considerable interest, and has been fully described by me in a paper read at a meeting of the Chronological Institute of London, in December, 1863, of a copy of which paper I have also to request the Society's acceptance.

I may, however, briefly state that the work in question

is not only a chronological epitome of Japanese history, but also of that of China from the earliest times, and as such, contains not only the before-mentioned table of the Japanese Nen-go, but also a similar table of the Chinese Neen Haou, or epochs, which are so universally found on the current coins of that vast empire. European chronology is also very briefly noticed.

From this treatise we find that the Chinese commenced their Neen Haou, or epochs, in the year 163 B.C., which corresponds with the 15th year of their 42nd Cycle; whereas the first of the Japanese Nen-go bears date the 42nd year of the 55th Cycle, agreeing with A.D. 645, from which time to 1861 a complete list is given in this work, the number being altogether 226.

The strictly chronological portion of this work is arranged in cycles of 60 years, each leaf of two pages containing one cycle. These are continuous from the 34th Cycle, which occurs on the 4th leaf, to the end, *i.e.*, from B.C. 657 to A.D. 1861. Each page is divided into thirty parts by perpendicular lines, each part representing one year. It is also divided horizontally into three parts, the upper one being devoted to Japanese chronology, the middle one to that of China, and the lower one to European chronology. The Chinese mode of reckoning by what they term the Kea Tze characters obtains in the upper compartments, while the lower, or European portion, exhibits the corresponding years in accordance with our own reckoning, as B.C. or A.D. In the two upper divisions the names of the Japanese and Chinese monarchs are given under their respective years, and the epochs of each are marked in like manner. We also find that the establishment of the second monarch of Japan (for, as is well known, they have both a spiritual and a temporal monarch

reigning at the same time) did not take place until the year 1184 of our era, and that the use of separate Nen-go, or epochs, by the second monarch obtained but for a short time, viz., from A.D. 1338 to 1390, after which the epochs are the same for both.

I have now to call your attention to the table which forms more particularly the subject of this paper. I need scarcely remind you that the Chinese and Japanese coins have on what may be called the obverse four characters, two of which, generally the upper and lower ones, are the epochal characters. The table, as it occurs in the work, is arranged in the following manner. The first or upper words of the epochal characters are distinguished from the second or lower ones by being printed in white upon a black ground, while the latter are printed in the usual manner. In the remarks and explanations by me which follow, I distinguish the upper characters of the epoch, as they occur on the coins and elsewhere, by the term "primary," and the lower ones by the term "secondary." This is done to prevent confusion. Beneath each of the primary characters are given the several secondary characters, which are combined with it to form the Nen-go. Thus, under the first of these primary characters in the table (*Ten* Chinese, *Ten* Japanese), we find twenty-six of the secondary characters, each of which has a reference to the leaf in the chronological part of the work, in which the combination is to be found, and thus the date and the monarch by whom the coin was struck are readily ascertained. I must also remark that the secondary characters of the Nen-go of the second monarchs are inscribed within a circle, so that there is no difficulty in appropriating these also to their respective princes.

In preparing this table for use, I have thought it neces-

sary to make some additions to the original mode of presenting it to the reader, and have consequently constructed three tables, in the first of which I have strictly followed the Japanese arrangement, with the addition of a number to the primary character of each series, of which there are forty-three. I have also added a column giving the first years of the several epochs against the corresponding secondary characters, those of the second monarchs being distinguished, as in the original table, by having a circle round them. The second table consists of the primary characters only, the numbers of which are in accordance with those in the first table, to which by these means it forms a key, and thus the corresponding primary character is readily found when required. The third of these tables consists simply of the dates of the commencement of each epoch, arranged chronologically, so that the duration of any one of them can at once be ascertained, a small circle over the year being employed to designate those of the second monarchs.

Having only a very slight acquaintance with the Japanese language, I am unable to give the names of the several monarchs adopting these epochs, neither can I supply the designations of the Nen-go, a circumstance I much regret.

I may add a few words explanatory of the mode of using these Tables. Having ascertained the Nen-go on a coin, find the primary or leading character in Table 2. Under the corresponding number in Table 1 that character will be found, and beneath it the various secondary characters with which it is combined to form the Nen-go, among which that sought for will occur, with the year of the commencement of the epoch against it. A reference to Table 3 will at once give the duration of that epoch, and

the enquirer will consequently be enabled to approximate very nearly to the date of the coin.<sup>1</sup>

I have now only to request the Society's acceptance of these tables, and to express my hope that they will be found of some service to collectors, so that the time and labour bestowed upon them may not be considered as entirely thrown away.

JOHN WILLIAMS.

<sup>1</sup> I find, however, from a note of Mr. Ernest Satow, dated from Yokohama, and addressed to Dr. Birch, that one of these epochs (that which, according to the table, commenced in 1704) is common to the coins of the Japanese monarchs from that period to 1861, when a new epoch, called by him "Bun kiu," was adopted. This epoch does not occur in my tables, that of 1861, called by Mr. Satow "Man-yen," being the last mentioned in the table contained in the Japanese chronological work, to which my observations are confined. This note is printed in the present number of the Chronicle, and in it will be found the Japanese names of several of the Nen-go, and also three which have been adopted since 1861.

## NOTICE OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

In No. 3 (May—June) of the *Revue Numismatique* for 1866 there are the following articles :—

1. "The Monetary Magistrates of Corcyra," by M. F. Lenormant.
2. "Researches on Roman Mints. Diocletian and the Tetrarchy," by M. A. de Longpérier.
3. "Mélanges de Numismatique. II. Coins of Trèves, Metz, and Verdun," by M. Ch. Robert.
4. "Supplement to the Essay on the Monetary History of the Counts of Flanders, of the House of Burgundy," by M. L. Deschamps de Pas.

In the *Chronique* there is a notice of a coin attributed to Eysyme, in Thrace, with an account of a find of Gaulish coins, &c.

In Nos. 4 and 5 (July—October) of the *Revue Numismatique* for 1866 there are the following articles :—

1. "Letters to M. A. de Longpérier on Gaulish Numismatics. XXIII. Find of La Villeneuve-au-Roi (Haute-Marne)," by M. F. de Saulcy.
2. "On an Incuse Coin of Rhegium," by M. A. de Longpérier.
3. "Coins of Meleager, King of Macedonia, with some observations on the Type commonly called the Macedonian Shield," by M. Ferd. Bompais (to be continued).
4. "Numismatology and Chronology of the Kings of Characene," by M. W. H. Waddington.
5. "On some Coins recently added to the Cabinet of the Library of Marseilles," by M. Adolph. Carpentin.
6. "Neufchatel, in Switzerland. Inedited coins of Anne Geneviève de Bourbon (Duchess of Longueville), and of her son Charles Paris," by M. A. Morel Fatio.

In the *Nécrologie* is a long notice of the life and works of Celestino Cavedoni, by M. le Baron de Witte, chiefly taken from the work alluded to in the Proceedings of our Society, p. 17, note.—(To be continued).

In the *troisième livraison* of the *Revue Numismatique Belge* for 1866 there are the following articles :—

1. "Memoir on the Roman *AS*," by M. J. Sabatier.

2. "Mémorial on the Roman Gold Coinage," by M. J. Sabatier.

These two memoirs have been presented to the *Société Française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie*.

3. "Gaulish Coins attributed to Tournai and to the Eburones," by M. J. de Witte.

4. "Coins of Macen," by M. J. Charvet.

5. "Note on Celtiberian Coins," by M. Aloïss Heiss.

6. "Era of the Arsacidæ," by M. le Baron de Koehne.

7. "Catalogue of Obsidional Coins, and of pieces of necessity," by M. le Lieut.-Colonel P. Mailliet (second article).

8. "Discovery of Mérouvilliers," by M. J. Charvet.

In the *Correspondance* is a letter from M. Preux to M. R. Chalon.

In the *Mélanges* are notices of recent numismatic publications.

In the *Nécrologie* there is a short account of M. Prosper Dupré and M. Alex. Geefs.

In the *quatrième livraison* of the *Revue Numismatique Belge* for 1866 there are the following articles:—

1. "Catalogue of Obsidional Coins and of pieces of necessity," by M. le Lieut.-Colonel P. Mailliet (third article).

2. "Letter to M. R. Chalon on two inedited Coins of Leo II., first King of Lower Armenia," by M. Victor Langlois.

3. "The Cross of Saint Ulrich of Augsburg," by M. R. Chalon.

4. "Numismatology of Brussels. Jettons struck by the Receivers and Superintendents of the Canals," by M. Ed. Vanden Broeck.

5. "Ancient Jettons of the Receivers of Brussels," by M. R. Chalon.

6. Official Acts.

In the *Correspondance* is a letter from M. E. Reusens to M. R. Chalon.

In the *Mélanges* are notices of publications, etc.



## MISCELLANEA.

## GOLD COINS OF ATHENS.

27, Haymarket, Sept. 25, 1866.

Dear Sir,—The other day when I was at the Museum we examined together three gold staters of Athens, and we both agreed upon one point, that two of them were false, but thought that there might be some chance of the third being genuine, but we could not be certain. I now send you a silver tetradrachm of the same city, which I think will remove some of the doubts. The similarity of the work of the tetradrachm and that of the stater we thought genuine is so great that we can see only the same epoch could have produced two coins so alike in work. The work of Minerva's helmet and the beak of the owl look as though made by the same hand on both coins, from which I conclude that the certain authenticity of the silver coins proves we were right in thinking the gold stater of the same family. The two coins were executed at the end of the ancient period; the eye of Minerva, though having a tendency to remain in front, begins to look in profile, and their date corresponds with the time of Philip II. of Macedon, "at which epoch," says M. Beulé, "the Athenian people left their old system for a new one, not being able to compete with the fine Macedonian coins."

I remain, dear sir, your obedient servant,

G. FEUARDENT.

R. S. Poole, Esq.

## DUTCH FISHERY MEDAL OF CHARLES I.

*Obv.*—☉ CAR ♦ ET ♦ MAR ♦ D ♦ G ♦ MAG ♦ BRIT  
♦ FRANC ♦ ET HIBER ♦ R - R. Date  
1636. In the field, busts of Charles and his  
Queen. A three-quarter face of the King, bust  
in armour, plain falling band, riband and medal  
of the garter. Queen's face is in profile.

*Rev.*—✠ IVSTITIA ♦ ET ♦ PAX ♦ OSCVLATÆ ♦  
SVNT ♦ PSAL ♦ 84 ♦ (Vulgate and Septuagint).  
Figures of Justice and Peace kissing each other,  
seated; an infant holding scales, another the  
olive branch; oak-tree on the left.

This example of a rare series differs from that which was formerly in the Duke of Devonshire's cabinet, and now in the Haggard collection, not merely by the date being given, but also by slightly increased size, and rather less finish of work.

The armour on the obverse, and the Queen's dress, as well as the tree on the reverse, are instances of this difference. Some cloud is also added in Mr. Haggard's medal, not seen in this. This medal and its companions were struck to commemorate the payment of £30,000 by the Dutch for permission granted them by England to fish in the British seas.

In Pinkerton's *Medallic History*, the medal is figured on Plate XVIII., and is supposed there to be the work of Warin.

The specimen here described belongs to Mrs. Isham, Lamport Rectory, Northamptonshire. A. POWNALL.

COUNTERMARKED COINS OF EDWARD IV.—I have seen a groat of this king with a small shield on either side of the head. The shields, as far as such minute heraldry can be observed, appear to bear a similar coat of arms to that of New Austria—"Gules, a fesse argent," the countermark being that of the town of Groningen. In the British Museum are three nobles of this king, one with a countermark like that on the groat, the two others with an oval mark containing two crosses patée surmounted by a crown. This, Mr. Freudenthal informs me, is the countermark of Dantzic. A. POWNALL.

FIND OF COINS.—A number of coins were found in October last at Enderby, a village near Leicester, in taking down an old house. They were all in a white leather bag, concealed in the thatch, and consisted of the following :—

Side-faced groat of Henry VIII.	1
Elizabeth shillings . . . .	4
„ sixpences . . . .	19
„ groat (?) . . . .	1
	— 24
James I. half-crown . . . .	1
„ shillings . . . .	3
„ sixpences . . . .	2
„ Irish shilling . . . .	1
	— 7
Charles I. half-crowns . . . .	30
„ shillings . . . .	24
„ sixpences . . . .	2
	— 56
	—
Total . . . .	88

Elizabeth *shillings* present examples of M.MS.:  $\pi$ , crescent, cross, crosslet; *sixpences*, M.MS.: pheon, rose, coronet, castle, sword, scallop, woolpack, cross, ton.

James I. *half-crown*, M.M.: thistle; *shillings*, M.M.S.: lis, rose, mullet; *sixpences*, M.M.: scallop.

Charles I. *half-crown*, M.M.S.: lis, anchor, eye, mullet, Δ, P, and R within circles; *shillings*, M.M.S.: anchor, sun, mullet, ton, triangle, Δ, P, and R within circles; *sixpences*, M.M.S.: triangle, &c. (?)

This is the third hoard discovered in Leicestershire in the course of the last fifteen months. A. POWNALL.

FIND OF SAXON COINS AT CHESTER.—We have been favoured, by Mr. John Peacock, of Hough Green, Chester, with a list of some Saxon coins found in the rear of Mr. Barber's premises, No. 97, Eastgate Street. Chester, on June 5, 1857, at the time when he was extending his cellarage northwards. The list represents about seventy or eighty coins; many others found at the same time were ignorantly broken up by the workmen and thrown among the rubbish. Of the coins preserved, about sixty were stolen a few days afterwards, and have never been traced. The monarchs represented were Eadred, Eadwig, and Eadgar, all of the common type, with a small cross in the centre of the obverse, and the moneyer's name on the reverse, usually in two lines but occasionally in three. Mr. Peacock's list furnishes the names of the following moneyers, some of them spelt in various manners:—

## EADRED.

ÐYMOD  
WILTF

ZIELRED  
WILDTF.

## EADWIG.

ÆLSIL  
DORVLF

ÆLPIL  
EDELZTAN MON+EO.

## EADGAR.

ÆLFRED  
ÆLDWINE  
DEORWF  
EORÐ  
FREDRIL  
FRODRIL  
HROÐVLF?  
TEODRIL  
ÐYRMOD  
PERZTAN

ÆLFZIL  
ÆLHMVND  
EADMVND  
EDELZTAN  
FREODRIL  
LILTZ  
HRBDVL  
TEODVL  
ÐYRMOD LE  
WERZTAN.

ÆLDEWIN  
DEORVLF  
EORÐ  
FREDRIL  
FRO4DRIL  
LEIVZ  
MERTIN  
ÐYNOD

COINS OF APAMEIA IN PHRYGIA, *Num. Chron.*, N.S., Vol. vi. p. 180.—*Additional Note*.—"Though her son, &c. . . . still no consecration coins have as yet been discovered of either of them." This should be modified, for though there are no *cotemporary* consecration coins of Alexander Severus there are some of the billon set supposed to be issued during the reign of Gallienus (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* Nos. 461—463).—F. W. M.

ARMENIAN COINS.—The Editors having arranged that the subject of the Armenian coinage should be further illustrated in a future number of the Chronicle, invite the contribution of casts of specimens, either to themselves or to Mr. Edward Thomas, 4, Madeley Villas, Victoria Road, Kensington, W.

PAPER ON THE ASIARCS, *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. vol. vi.—*Errata*.

- p. 94 l. 23, *before Pergamus insert* Cyzicus.
- p. 94 l. 24, *before Stectorium insert* Otrus.
- p. 97 l. 31, *for numere read* munere.
- p. 98 l. 3, *for authors read* their quotations from authors.
- p. 99 l. 26, *for 'Ασιας read* 'Ασιας.
- p. 101 l. 30, *for Κοινά read* Κοινά.
- p. 102 l. 15, *for agothetæ read* agonotheatæ.
- p. 103 l. 14, *for Numatius read* Munatius.
- p. 103 l. 16, *for who had been himself read* whose grandfather had been  
(See Waddington's amended text of the inscription, p. 117).
- p. 104 l. 20, *for office read* offices; and so also on p. 105 l. 7 and l. 9.
- p. 105 l. 29, *for n. read* nos.
- p. 106 l. 29, *for those read* these.
- p. 107 l. 32, *for as above read* De urb. Neocor.
- p. 109 l. 12, *for Manatius read* Munatius.
- p. 113 l. 8, *for ἐξάρχης read* ἐξαρχὴς.
- p. 113 l. 12, *for xv. read* xvi.
- p. 113 l. 30, *for ἐπωνομάσθη read* ἐπωνομάσθη.
- p. 114 l. 8, *for 'Ρωμη read* 'Ρωμη.
- p. 115 l. 13, (bis) *for Αὐρ read* Αὐρ.
- p. 117 l. 23, *for* 2090 *read* 2990.
- p. 119 l. 4, *add* where, however, the Amazon holds shield and chlamys in her left hand.
- p. 123 l. 13 *for* ΦΡΟΥΡ. (sic) TPANKOYIAAΙNA *read* ΦΡΟΥ. (sic) TPANKOYIAAΙNA.
- p. 125 l. 7 *after* serpents *add* Α. 13½.
- p. 127 n. 5, *add*. The Pembroke coin, purchased by Mr. Burgon, is now in the collection of General Fox; it is manifestly a cast. Mr. Madden has called my attention to the fact that a similar coin in the collection of M. Hoffmann has been published in the *Revue Numism.* for 1859, p. 293, pl. xi. n. 5. Mr. Langdon, who has seen the coin, considers that it is very suspicious.—Ch. B.

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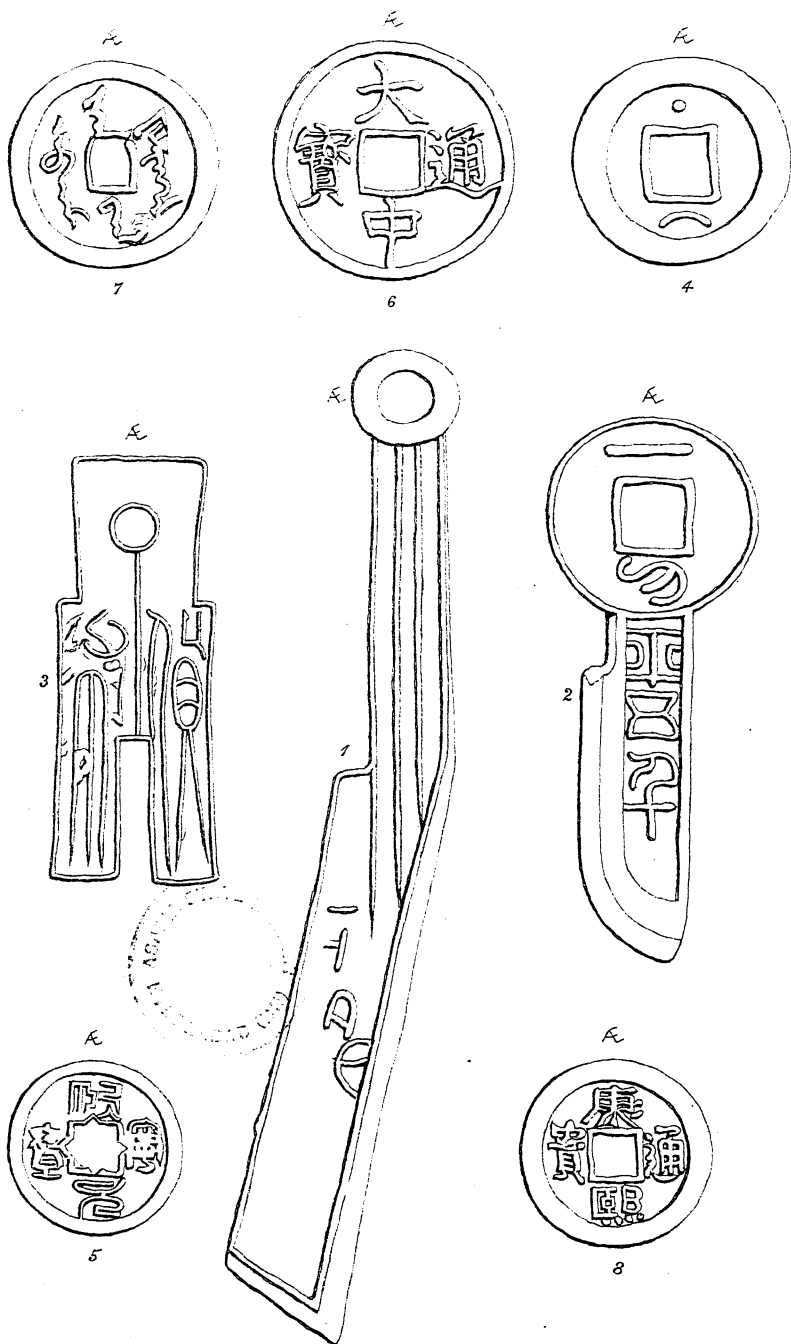
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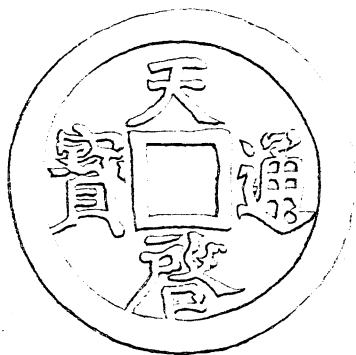
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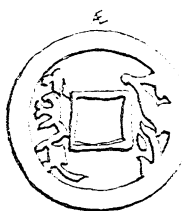
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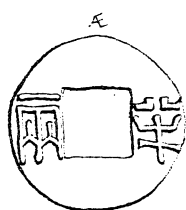




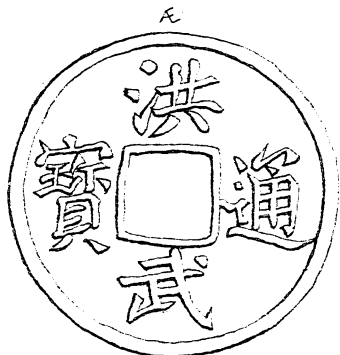
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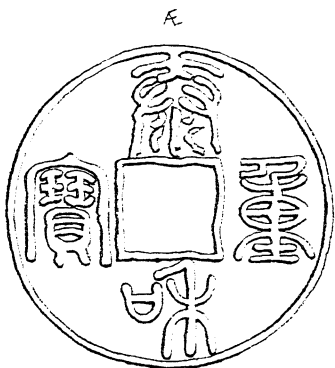
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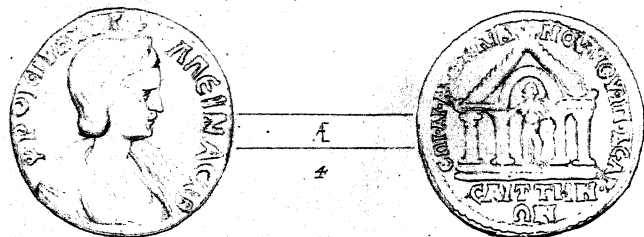
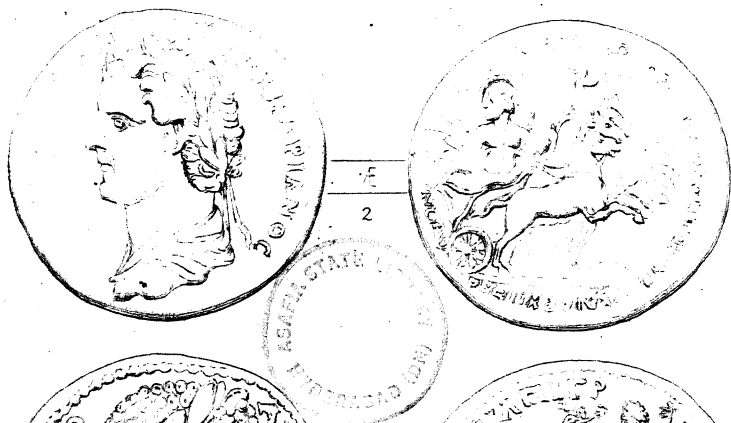
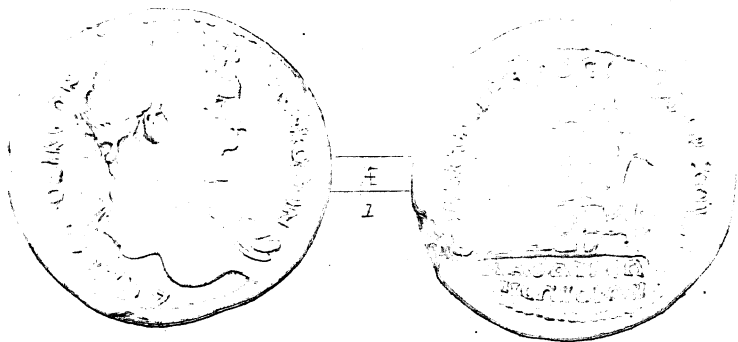
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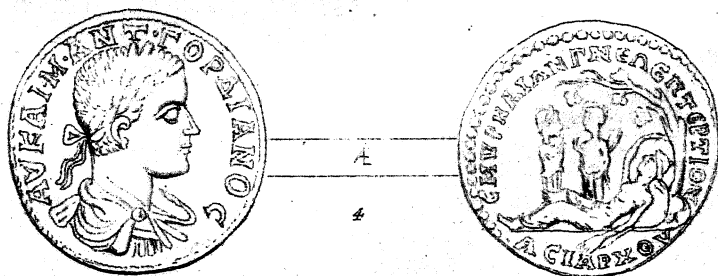
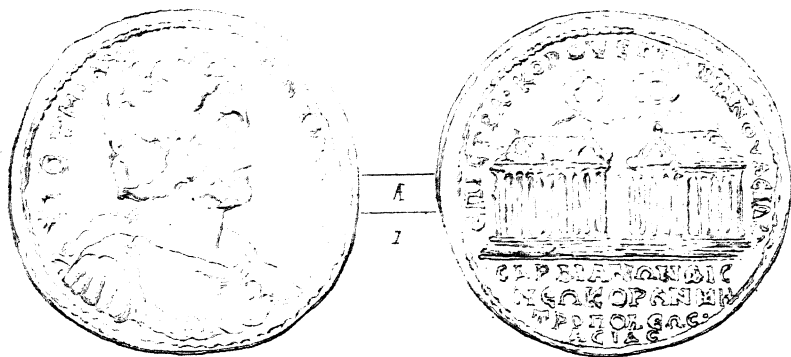


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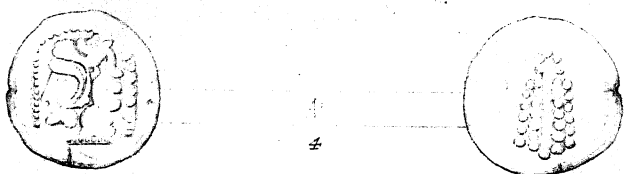
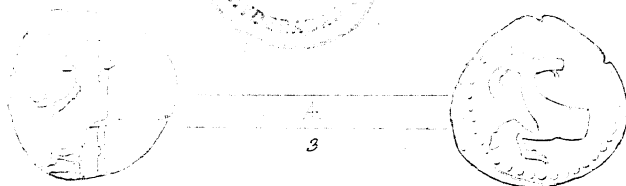
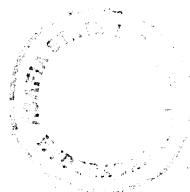
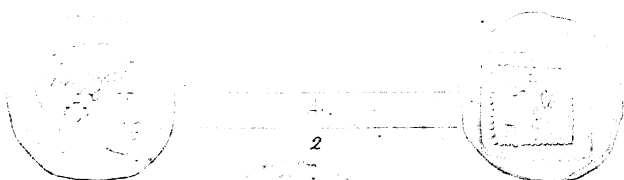
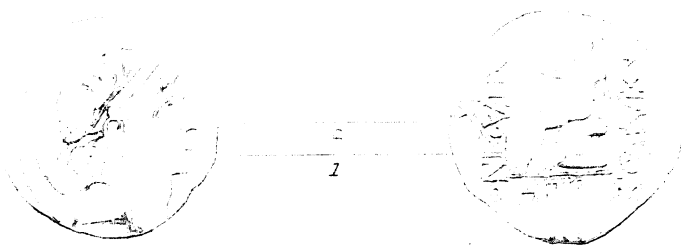


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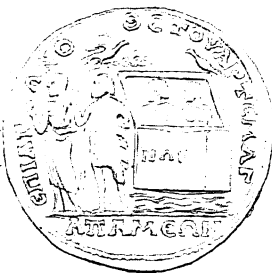


COINS OF THE ASIARCHS.





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2



2



3



3

F. Lees. Fecit.

1, PAINTING FROM THE CATACOMBS, ROME.

2 & 3, COINS OF MÆONIA IN LYDIA.



SIGNET OF VARAHRÁN KERMÁN SHÁH.

*Enlarged from the Original Gem.*

[Actual Size, 1.25 × 1.05 inches.]



Æ  
1



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4







Japanese nen go. Table 1.

Table 2.

天	和	1681	3. 元	1375	1017	長保德	1428	7. 延	1326	1037	永保治	1206	和	1345	同治永	800	21. 治	25. 白	30. 宣	37. 壽	1. 天	12. 承	23. 明	24. 昌
寶	平	749	慶	877	1044	德	1544	曆	1387	1104	治	1213	治	1362	治	1126	安	雄	德	永	2. 永	13. 應	24. 久	25. 齊
字	勝	757	慶	1084	1057	保	1741	喜	1441	1040	久	1275	亨	1684	永	1521	承	鳳	祿	乾	3. 元	14. 貞	25. 白	26. 平
義	平	765	慶	1118	1229	中	1346	長	1848	1133	承	1271	仁	15	慶	18	歷	養	朱	元	3. 元	14. 貞	25. 白	26. 平
平	應	729	慶	1204	1248	安		應		1163	寬	1249	壽	887	雲	704	安	老	鳥	39. 德	4. 寬	15. 仁	26. 養	27. 壽
長	安	787	慶	1224	1460	治		慶		1457	祿	1334	和	885	長	1371	延	和	和	39. 德	4. 寬	15. 仁	26. 養	27. 壽
安	慶	821	慶	1319	1624	曆		元		1487	亨	1370	安	1161	安	1648	元	27. 中	銅	40. 見	5. 正	16. 弘	27. 神	28. 乾
慶	慶	857	慶	1321	1651	應		德			承		弘	1166	寶		明	要	龜	40. 見	5. 正	16. 弘	27. 神	28. 乾
曆	仁	938	慶	1329	1741	和		寶		834	和		德	1240	龜	770	23. 明	龜	33. 靈	41. 興	6. 安	17. 大	28. 萬	29. 德
仁	德	947	慶	1329	1748	保		亨		931	平		保	1247	龜	1247	德	龜	33. 靈	41. 興	6. 安	17. 大	28. 萬	29. 德
德	永	1008	慶	1321	1789	安		正		1074	保		長	1448	龜	1448	應	龜	33. 靈	41. 興	6. 安	17. 大	28. 萬	29. 德
永	治	1057	慶	1321	1789	正		嘉		1077	曆		安	1704	龜	1704	應	龜	33. 靈	41. 興	6. 安	17. 大	28. 萬	29. 德
治	祿	1124	慶	1321	1789	明		嘉		1697	德		永	1751	龜	1751	應	龜	33. 靈	41. 興	6. 安	17. 大	28. 萬	29. 德
祿	延	970	慶	1321	1789	龜		嘉		1171	安		仁	1764	龜	1764	應	龜	33. 靈	41. 興	6. 安	17. 大	28. 萬	29. 德
延	承	973	慶	1321	1789	錄		嘉		1207	元		貞	1844	龜	1844	應	龜	33. 靈	41. 興	6. 安	17. 大	28. 萬	29. 德
承	元	1131	慶	1321	1789	中		嘉		1219	久		貞		龜		應	龜	33. 靈	41. 興	6. 安	17. 大	28. 萬	29. 德
元	美	978	慶	1321	1789	化		嘉		1652	應		貞		龜		應	龜	33. 靈	41. 興	6. 安	17. 大	28. 萬	29. 德
美	喜	1144	慶	1321	1789	政		嘉			建		貞		龜		應	龜	33. 靈	41. 興	6. 安	17. 大	28. 萬	29. 德
喜	文	1058	慶	1321	1789	中		嘉			久		貞		龜		應	龜	33. 靈	41. 興	6. 安	17. 大	28. 萬	29. 德
文	福	1533	慶	1321	1789	中		嘉			仁		貞		龜		應	龜	33. 靈	41. 興	6. 安	17. 大	28. 萬	29. 德
福	福	1223	慶	1321	1789	中		嘉			仁		貞		龜		應	龜	33. 靈	41. 興	6. 安	17. 大	28. 萬	29. 德

TABLE III.—DATES CONSECUTIVELY ARRANGED.

645	901	1058	1160	1240	1334	1441	1652
650	923	1065	1161	1243	1336	1444	1655
686	938	1069	1163	1247	1338	1449	1658
701	947	1081	1165	1249	1340	1452	1661
704	957	1084	1166	1256	1342	1455	1673
708	964	1087	1169	1257	1345	1457	1681
715	968	1094	1175	1259	1346	1460	1684
717	970	1096	1177	1260	1350	1466	1688
724	973	1099	1181	1261	1352	1467	1704
729	976	1104	1182	1264	1356	1469	1711
749	978	1106	1190	1275	1361	1487	1716
757	983	1108	1199	1278	1362	1489	1736
765	985	1110	1201	1288	1368	1492	1741
767	987	1113	1204	1293	1370	1501	1744
770	989	1118	1206	1299	1372	1504	1748
781	990	1120	1211	1302	1375	1521	1751
782	995	1124	1213	1303	1375	1528	1764
806	999	1126	1222	1306	1379	1533	1772
810	1004	1131	1224	1308	1381	1555	1781
824	1012	1133	1225	1311	1381	1558	1789
848	1017	1135	1227	1312	1384	1570	1801
851	1021	1141	1229	1317	1387	1573	1804
857	1024	1142	1232	1319	1389	1592	1818
859	1028	1144	1233	1321	1390	1596	1830
877	1037	1145	1234	1324	1393	1615	1844
884	1044	1151	1235	1326	1394	1624	1848
885	1046	1154	1238	1329	1428	1644	1854
889	1048	1156	1239	1331	1429	1648	1860
898	1053	1159					